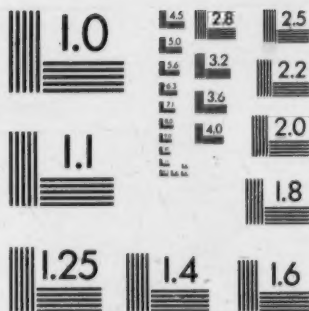


1

of/de

1



FOUNDED IN METHUEN, MA, 1974
Micred
METHUEN, MA
1000 COUNTY ROAD 1, BURLINGAME, MA 01930, U.S.A. 010 410 1001



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Services des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

**THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED**

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE**

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

GEORGE LUKACS: PHILOSOPHER AND REVOLUTION, 1910 - 1920

BY



JONATHAN R. MURPHY

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1986

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-32395-7

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR Jonathan R. Murphy
TITLE OF THESIS George Lukacs: Philosopher and Revolution, 1910 -
1920

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED 1986

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY
to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such
copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the
thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise
reproduced without the author's written permission.

(SIGNED)

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

15, 8411 - 119 Avenue

Edmonton, Alberta

T5B OW3

DATED May 26th 1986

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

The undersigned certify that they have read, and
recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for
acceptance, a thesis entitled
..George Lukacs:..Philosopher and Revolution..1910-1920.....
.....
submitted by ..Jonathan R. Murphy.....
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of ..Arts.....

Supervisor
Bruce Hunter

Date... May 26... 1986...

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Karen Jean Virag. Her spirit and dedication to excellence provide me with an example I only hope to match.

It is also dedicated to Professor Don Carmichael. His good humour and patience have permitted me to complete this project of which I frequently despaired.

ABSTRACT

George Lukacs is a major figure in the intellectual and political history of Hungary and Central Europe. Despite coming from a wealthy banking family, Lukacs became a Marxist and was a participant in the Revolution of 1919 in Hungary. From 1919 to his death in 1971, he remained a devoted Communist. Yet, he continued to develop his pre-Marxist interest in literary aesthetics, and was one of the pioneers of Marxist literary theory.

This thesis is an examination of the turning-points in Lukacs's life-work. Beginning in 1910, I trace his growing disillusionment with bourgeois culture and the capitalist way of life, his conversion to Communism, and his subsequent participation in the Revolution of 1919.

I focus upon Lukacs's political development in the context of the wider social and political factors which affected him. In turn, I concentrate on his political and philosophic contributions to the Revolution. Despite fairly extensive recent research into Lukacs, most writers have considered Lukacs's intellectual development in relative isolation from his political activities and the historical circumstances which helped mould his perspective. This thesis will help to fill the gap between examinations of Lukacs's intellectual development and more general historical accounts of the period.

The introduction includes a brief biography of George Lukacs. Chapter Two shows the gradual development of Lukacs's disaffection with capitalism, through a study of the political content of his two major aesthetic works of the period, Soul and Form and Theory of the Novel.

While Lukacs opposed capitalism, he was not attracted to an alternative polity.

The third chapter examines the political and philosophic developments in international socialism from the death of Marx until the Russian Revolution. Despite the formal commitment of the Second International to Marxism, its philosophy tended to be fatalistic and its politics pragmatic. When the Second International split after the outbreak of war in 1914, Lukacs became attracted to the Communist wing led by Lenin, which embraced revolutionary politics based upon a dialectical view of Marxism.

Chapter Four follows Lukacs's role in the political developments in Hungary after his adherence to the Communist Party. Lukacs took a leading part in the revolutionary Republic of Councils during 1919, facilitating major reforms in the area of art, culture and education. In addition, he began to assimilate his pre-Marxist aesthetic theories with those of Marxism, thereby taking the first steps in developing a Marxist critique of capitalist culture.

The concluding chapter summarizes the findings of the thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
ONE	INTRODUCTION	1
TWO	1910 - 1917: SEARCHING FOR A SOLUTION	11
THREE	SOCIALISM'S LENINIST METAMORPHOSIS	24
FOUR	UNITY OF INTELLECTUAL AND PARTY: THE PRODUCTS OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION	43
FIVE	CONCLUSION	66
	FOOTNOTES	70
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	81

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

George Lukacs is a paradoxical figure in the history of Central Europe. Scion of a wealthy banking family, he became the most prominent Communist intellectual of his era. Passionately devoted to the politics and culture of his homeland, he spent half of his life outside Hungary, and wrote many of his most celebrated works in the German language. Despite a deep contempt for violence, George Lukacs became a major participant in two bloody revolutions.¹ And, most unusual of all, even as a slavishly orthodox Communist during the Stalin era, he continued to stress that Communist politics were merely the means to an end: the development of an authentic human culture which is not alienated from reality.

For many Marxists, Lukacs's life exemplifies the question of the individual's role in history. He cannot be understood simply as a product of historical forces, nor as a philosophic genius whose theoretical work can be considered in abstraction from his historical circumstances. My original intention in writing this thesis was to use Lukacs as an example to demonstrate my interpretation of the dialectic which operates between the individual and society in the course of social change. Lukacs's complexity renders this an impossible task.² I will concentrate, therefore, on a close examination of the turning

points in Lukacs's life-work: his conversion to Communism and his subsequent participation in the Revolution of 1919. I focus upon Lukacs's political development in the context of the political and social events which affected him, and in turn, on his political and philosophical contributions to the Revolution of 1919.

Lukacs: A Brief Biography

Lukacs was born in 1885 in imperial Budapest, son of a wealthy Jewish banker, largely immune from plebeian dislike of his people, and certainly shielded from the grinding poverty of his countrymen. As was the custom for the children of wealthy Jews, George Lukacs was sent to study in Germany for much of his youth. Therefore, despite the love of his native Hungary which led him to return during his later life, he spoke and wrote German at least as well as Hungarian, and was perhaps more familiar with German traditions in literature and German philosophy than he was with the more mystical and Mongol-influenced culture of Hungary.

Lukacs lived in various German cities from 1908 onwards, most notably in Heidelberg, where he joined the Weber Circle³ during a period when Weber himself came under the influence of leftist ideas.⁴ Lukacs, however, does not appear to have been particularly interested in social democracy at this time, and it is recorded by Weber's wife that he actually spoke out against the German Social Democratic Party.⁵

The outbreak of world war in 1914 left Lukacs in a state of depression. As he makes clear in Theory of the Novel, suicide was a

serious option during this period, made all the more realistic by the recent death, by her own hand, of his close womanfriend Irma Seidler.

The concluding years of the war brought Lukacs's romantic aesthetic period to an end. Comparison of his two major pre-Marxist works, Soul and Form⁶ (1911) and Theory of the Novel⁷ (1915) shows the developing incompatibility of his aesthetic views with an agnostic attitude to the political structure. In 1918, Lukacs returned to Hungary. Drawing political conclusions from his aesthetic critique of bourgeois society, he broke with many of his intellectual cohorts by joining the newly-founded Communist Party of Hungary. Within the fledgling organization, a thinker of Lukacs's stature rapidly assumed a leadership role (and participated on the party's leading bodies).

Defeat of the Austro-Hungarian empire on the battlefield naturally threatened the unity of the diverse and sprawling state. Hungary declared independence under a liberal-democratic government similar in class composition to the Kerensky government which ruled Russia between February and October, 1917. Karolyi's Hungarian government failed for many of the same reasons as that of Kerensky: internal dissension and indecisiveness, unresolved issues of war and peace, and an apparently insoluble economic crisis. In short, Hungary was thrust into a situation ripe for revolution. This revolutionary opening attracted not only the proletariat, but also that element of the bourgeois intelligentsia which had lost faith in the capitalist system.

The Communist Party, along with a fairly left-wing Social Democratic Party, assumed power in the hiatus which existed. Outside

Budapest, support for the revolution was limited, with the result that the regime was isolated even with its own borders. The widespread revolt of peasants which had formed the backcloth to the Bolshevik success did not exist in Hungary. When combined with a difficult international situation and serious economic pressures, the politically heterogeneous government proved no match for the better organized and equipped "White" army led by "Admiral" Horthy. The failure of the revolution caused many leaders of the revolution, including Lukacs, to hide in Hungary until they could escape. Some of Lukacs's closest friends were executed during the period of White Terror which lasted for several years.

Lukacs spent most of the 1920's working in various Communist organizations in Austria and Germany. His initial orientation was to the "ultra-left": that is to a belief in the spontaneous rising of the working class as opposed to revolution organized and led by an elite party. As the Russian Revolution became more stable and the Bolshevik Party more established as the party of power, ultra-leftism was a threat to Soviet leaders. Party organs were closed to the left, and many leading leftists were purged from the Communist International.⁸ Lukacs was forced to abandon many of his more anarchistic views in order to remain within the official Communist movement. His willingness to do so has been ascribed to cowardice; more charitably, it could be viewed as commitment to the mass organizations of the working class and the gains of the Russian Revolution, even when they diverged from his preferred path.

In 1924 Lukacs's most celebrated book was published: History and Class Consciousness.⁹ Its central concern is alienation ("reification") of the working class under capitalism, and the attendant possibilities for building a revolutionary party. Detailed study of this text is not possible within the framework of this thesis, however an excellent summary can be found in George Lichtheim's Lukacs.¹⁰

Following the publication of History and Class Consciousness and another volume celebrating Lenin's theoretical accomplishments¹¹ the Stalinization of the international Communist movement forced Lukacs into a lengthy period of silence on political issues, punctuated by works of mainly aesthetic interest.¹² Lukacs was forced from Central Europe in mid-1930's due to the rise of Nazism and related fascist regimes. Taking up residence in Moscow shortly before the Great Purges, his survival during the ensuing period suggests considerable adroitness.

The victory of the Red Army in Hungary in 1945 led to the installation of a Communist regime. Lukacs was able to return to his homeland for the first time in a quarter-century. He assumed a number of secondary ministerial positions in the Communist government, and was not involved in any movement for liberalization of that government's authoritarian tactics. However, the death of Stalin in 1953 presaged a rapid crumbling of the totalitarian power structure across Eastern Europe. Grasping the political opening, Lukacs helped to organize the student reform movement which eventually led to the Soviet invasion and the brief Revolution of 1956.

Following the defeat of the Revolution by the Red Army, many of the "ringleaders" were executed. Lukacs escaped with deportation to Romania. After nearly forty years of devotion to the Communist movement, Lukacs was again unwelcome in his own country. Within a couple of years, however, Lukacs was invited back to Hungary by the new liberal government of Janos Kadar. From 1958 until his death Lukacs was the country's undisputed philosopher-king. By the time he died in 1971, he had also spawned a considerable school of "unofficial" Marxists, who combined political liberalism with adherence to Lukacs's early "anarchistic" writings.

Lukacs's life combined active political involvement with serious philosophical inquiry. My aim in this thesis is to examine in detail how someone from his background came to make such a major contribution to the proletarian movement.

Lukacs: A Survey of the Literature

The richness of Lukacs's life has attracted scholarly attention from political scientists, aestheticians, and philosophers. Indeed, one of the major preoccupations of the neo-Marxist journal, Telos,¹³ has been research into Lukacs and work employing his characteristic method. In the main, however, Telos is a philosophic journal which tends to treat Lukacs primarily in terms of his theoretical contributions in abstraction from his political activities. Nevertheless it is a major source for this thesis.

A number of books have been written about Lukacs in recent years. George Lichtheim's brief Lukacs¹⁴ is a standard introductory text, but its treatment is primarily of Lukacs's philosophic and aesthetic contributions, and its account of his role in the Revolution of 1919 is limited. Andrew Arato and Paul Breines's The Young Lukacs and the Origins of Western Marxism¹⁵ focusses mainly upon his pre-Marxist period, and is an important source for my chapter on Lukacs's developing cultural critique of capitalism. Michael Lowy's George Lukacs: From Romanticism to Bolshevism¹⁶ covers much of the same material as Arato and Breines, from a Trotskyist perspective, but again, it does not dwell upon his role in the Revolution.

Apart from the three books mentioned above, there is one study written from an avowedly anti-Marxist perspective: Victor Zitta's George Lukacs. Marxism, Alienation, Dialectics, Revolution: A Study in Utopia and Ideology.¹⁷ Zitta's dislike for Communism sometimes hampers his work, leading him to make gratuitous and unfounded personal attacks on Lukacs,¹⁸ and I do not consider the book a reliable source for this thesis.

Much of the recent Lukacs scholarship has been published in journals such as Telos and the New German Critique as well as the New Hungarian Quarterly. A number of articles from the three journals have been used as sources, in particular David Kettler's long essay "Culture and Revolution"¹⁹ in Telos, as well as George Lukacs's brief notes for an autobiography, "Gelebtes Denken", printed in the New Hungarian Quarterly.²⁰

Despite this fairly extensive research into Lukacs over the past fifteen years, most writers have considered Lukacs's intellectual development in isolation from his political activities, and the historical circumstances which helped mould his perspective. Lukacs's philosophical contributions do indeed have an importance which transcends the particular circumstances under which they were developed. Nevertheless, his role in the events of the post-First World War era in Hungary was an important one, made doubly interesting by his status as a leading intellectual. Philosopher-revolutionaries are few and far between.

Historical studies of the Hungarian Revolution of 1919 are in short supply. Until the last few years, the Hungarian government did not permit research into it using documents held in its own archives.²¹ The first book to be published in English on the topic was Tokes's Bela Kun and the Hungarian Soviet Republic.²² Although this is an important scholarly work, it centres on the activities of Bela Kun, the Communist Party leader, and does not extensively cover the activities of individual Commissars such as Lukacs. Hajdu's The Hungarian Soviet Republic²³ was published recently in Hungary, and is probably the most comprehensive work on the Revolution available in English. However, it is studiously non-controversial when discussing the actions of most of the leading players.

No single work has adequately dealt with the subject matter of this thesis. The thesis will help bridge a gap between examinations of

Lukacs's intellectual development and historical accounts of the revolution.

Any political commentary is inevitably coloured in style and in substance by the author's political perspective, whether this is stated explicitly or is simply implicit. My method is based upon a strand of Marxist theory which can be classified as Marxist Humanism.²⁴ A central feature of this theory is that historical analysis should take into account both the autonomous voluntary role of individuals and also the place of wider societal factors when explaining political and social change. It can be contrasted with "vulgar" Marxism, which stresses the inevitability of political change brought about solely due to developments in the economic base.²⁵

Following a brief survey of Lukacs's life, the thesis is composed of three major chapters. Chapter Two shows how Lukacs's early aesthetic investigations led him to wider conclusions about the bankruptcy of bourgeois society. It is not intended to be an examination of the validity of his aesthetic theories, which lies outside the scope of the present subject. The third chapter explains at some length why the official Socialist movement could not represent a viable alternative to capitalism, and describes the split within the Socialist International into Communist and Social Democratic factions, concretized at the Zimmerwald Conference of 1915. The Communist movement offered an analysis and political practice which appealed to Lukacs. The fourth chapter is devoted to Lukacs's role in the Hungarian Revolution of 1919. It shows the dialectic between the individual and wider society, as

Lukacs grasped the opportunities created by proletarian revolution, facilitating progressive reforms throughout the fields of education and culture. A concluding chapter summarizes the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

1910 - 1917: SEARCHING FOR A SOLUTION

Between 1910 and 1917, Lukacs lived in Germany studying primarily at the University of Heidelberg. During these years, he renounced political activity, although many of his aesthetic investigations concerned issues of socio-political relevance. Lukacs's significant writings of the period are contained in two collections of essays, Soul and Form (1911) and Theory of the Novel (1915). These works consist mainly of literary criticism, much of which concerns long-forgotten authors. They are of interest today because of their articulation of Lukacs's growing critique of bourgeois culture, which is especially evident when comparing his 1915 essays with those of 1911.

Throughout the Heidelberg period (and in a sense, throughout his life) Lukacs's main aesthetic interest was also a personal dilemma. Under what conditions could the idealist intellectual contribute his abilities to the outside world, without at the same time being tainted by its stupidity and lack of morality? This question dominates the discussion of his literary subjects throughout both works.

A successful work of literature, to Lukacs, was one in which the author demonstrated a realistic mediation between the hero and the world around him. This is not to say that Lukacs believed a successful mediation was possible in modern society. In fact, the works he praised

most are ones which show the incompatibility of the hero with the wider world (for example, Cervantes's Don Quixote). Nevertheless, the consistency with which Lukacs returns to the subject of potential mediation between the individual and the human environment indicates his personal commitment to intervention in the world if at all possible.

This chapter compares Lukacs's attitude to this question as his views developed between Soul and Form and Theory of the Novel. In the first work, Lukacs's rejection of mediation between the hero and society is presented as an ahistorical inevitability. He views the model of the classic tragedy as the only adequate representation of the clash between a true hero and society. By the time of Theory of the Novel, Lukacs still believed that no artistic work had successfully demonstrated a positive relationship, but he makes clear that he does not consider such a relationship impossible. Rather, it is impossible within bourgeois culture, for which he displays considerable contempt in both books. Introducing historical categories to his literary criticism in the essays of Theory of the Novel, Lukacs paralleled Marxist economic theory, paving the way for a reconciliation between economics and aesthetics under a historical materialist umbrella.

Soul and Form consists of ten separate essays, each devoted to an analysis of the aesthetic problems of a different author.²⁶ His interest in the writers lay mainly in their attempts to articulate a coherent commentary on the central problems of human existence. Thus, although Soul and Form does not concern itself with current political questions, it is essentially a critique of political philosophy in art:

The irony I mean consists in the critic always speaking about the ultimate problems of life, but in a tone which implies that he is only discussing pictures and books . . . each essay appears to be removed as far as possible from life, and the distance between them seems the greater, the more burning and painfully we sense the actual closeness of the true essence of both.²⁷

The philosophic issue which preoccupied Lukacs at this time was that of the dichotomy between "absolute life" and "relative life". In other words, how can we mediate between our own ideals (absolute life) and the world of which we are only a small part (relative life) and in which, to exist, we must compromise?

He deals first with romantic writers, such as Novalis, who attempted to solve the dilemma by creating their own society at Jena, a place where the 'great man' is at home: "Jena at the end of the eighteenth century . . . men who have always lived in loneliness discover with intoxicating joy that others are thinking . . . and feeling in a way which seems to fit into the same system."²⁸

The euphoria of 'authentic life' could not continue long, however. The romantic experiment collapsed in disputes and recriminations. Lukacs believed this was because of the incompatibility of the artistic form with genuine human existence: "A spiritual tower of Babel was to be erected, with nothing but air for its infrastructure; it had to collapse."²⁹ Lukacs opposed the romantics because their vision was artificial, not because of his own idealism and mistrust of artistic intervention in the material world:

A seemingly deliberate withdrawal from life was the price of the Romantic art of living . . . the actual reality of life vanished before their eyes and was replaced by another reality, the reality

of poetry, of pure psyche. They created a homogenous, organic world unified within itself and identified it with the real world.³⁰

Despite his practical criticisms of the romantic experiment, Lukacs also maintained a philosophical disbelief in the possibility of a successful intervention of art into life: "For Germany, there was only one way to culture: the inner way, the way of the revolution of spirit; no one could envisage a real revolution."³¹

Critical of German writers' attempts to substitute life in their own circles for participation in 'real life', and dismissive of physical revolution, Lukacs searched in history for an acceptable example of the relationship of art and artists to life. If an actual revolution was impossible, as Lukacs insisted, this did not rule out some relationship between the insights of the artist and the needed moral renaissance of society as a whole. He found his example in the culture of Greek society, and particularly in the role of classical tragedy in ancient Greece.

The strict form required of Greek tragedy permits concentration upon the moral and ethical dilemmas facing the hero. There can be no successful resolution of the problems, however. The hero's role is not to escape from his fate, but rather to ennoble 'the crowd' through dignity and grandeur in extreme circumstances. Frequently concluding in martyrdom, the Greek tragedy emphasizes the gulf between the hero and the ordinary man, while at the same time providing a chastening example of how man should live. Lukacs believed that tragedy should not only be the form of successful drama: its hero also provided an example of how

he and other intellectuals should live. The elitism of his position is well conveyed in the following passage:

The judgment is a cruelly harsh one, without mercy or reprieve; sentence is passed ruthlessly upon even the smallest fault, the faintest suggestion of a betrayal of the essence . . . nothing can succeed [the tragic life] or follow upon it, nothing can connect it with ordinary life.³²

In the absence of a universal class able to assume the role of hero (for example, the proletariat), Lukacs resorts to idolisation of the individual as opposed to the mass, and he resists no opportunity to attack democracy for its tendency to reduce all to the level of the crowd:

In vain has our democratic age claimed an equal right for all to be tragic; all attempts to open this kingdom of heaven to the poor in spirit has proved fruitless. And those democrats who are consistent about their demands for equal rights for all men have always disputed tragedy's right to existence.³³

As if attempting to seal his disagreement with democracy and socialism for an eternity, Lukacs makes his theory unconditional upon changes in popular consciousness. Expanding upon the traditional timelessness and placelessness of tragedy, Lukacs subscribes to a circular view of history in which progress is impossible: "tragedy as universal law, as the final goal which yet is but a beginning in the eternal circle of all things."³⁴

Despite an elitist attitude which would appear to justify a class-based society, Lukacs also shows considerable contempt for capitalism in Soul and Form. His feelings about the faults of capitalism are concentrated in the essay on Theodor Storm, "The Bourgeois Way of Life and Art for Art's Sake." Lukacs despises Storm's bourgeois asceticism:

[it] really consumes a man's life, because life should be its very opposite: splendour and brilliance, the rejection of all bonds, a drunken orgiastic triumphal dance of the soul in the ever changing grove of poetic moods. The bourgeois way of life is . . . merely a mask that hides the bitter useless pain of a failed and ruined life, the life pain of a Romantic born too late.³⁵

A sample of Storm's poetry which Lukacs holds up to particular ridicule also captures well the state of mind which so offends the dramatic, aristocratic Lukacs:

If ever your heart weeps, make nothing of it.
Clink glasses, let them ring.
Nothing can kill a heart, you know it.
A heart's a strong and sturdy thing.³⁶

While Lukacs's anti-bourgeois sentiment is in many respects merely a romantic dislike of progress, it does arrive at the same conclusions as does the socialist critique. Both perspectives oppose the tendency of art in bourgeois society to become a specialized, rationalized, bureaucratized appendage to the dominant economic system. Under the cover of 'artistic independence', capitalism provides such an all embracing way of life that 'high culture' becomes diluted and manipulated to fit into the everyday needs of the capitalist system. The artist, who was regarded with awe in feudal society, and who had some power to influence the ruling elite with his works, is replaced in modern capitalism by the artistic celebrity, reproduced and assimilated into the body of society. His ideas are bought and sold like any other commodity and may be taken up as harmless 'fashions'. It appears that the 'democracy' of capitalist thought leads not to informed decision making, but rather to what Herbert Marcuse described as a "comfortable, smooth, reasonable, democratic unfreedom."³⁷

Soul and Form leaves one with ambivalent feelings. Though Lukacs makes his disagreement with democracy absolutely clear, he equally condemns capitalism.³⁸ In some ways this is to be expected; for he equates capitalism and democracy. On the other hand, it is clear that he is searching for ways to apply his intellectual insights, and he is contemptuous of those who abandon the 'orgiastic splendour' of the independent artist in favour of a domesticated bourgeois existence. I suggest that Lukacs's energy and anger could have been channelled in a number of directions, his eventual capture by the left being the result of the proletariat's emergence as the universal class during the Russian Revolution rather than any unusual features in Lukacs's early life. He shows himself, in Soul and Form, to be a typical bourgeois intellectual of his era.

Theory of the Novel was written six years after Soul and Form. Many writers³⁹ consider it the definitive work of his pre-Marxist era. This is not surprising given the spiritual battering he must have felt in the carnage of the First World War.

When the war broke out, Lukacs's world-view changed quite rapidly. He began seriously to acquaint himself with the major disputes within the socialist movement. In the aesthetic field, he became interested in art which expressed, not the irrevocable division between the world and the hero-individual, but rather the victory of the heroic idea over the impure world. In the face of mass slaughter, Lukacs searched for an answer.

Like Soul and Form, Theory of the Novel is centrally concerned with the possibility of improving the relationship between the intellectual hero and society. Lukacs dismisses the tragic form as an adequate example for today's hero to follow. He begins Theory of the Novel with a discussion of the limitations of Greek society. He sees it as a 'human childhood' which cannot be reproduced today:

The circle within which the Greeks led their metaphysical life was smaller than ours: that is why we cannot, as part of our life, place ourselves inside it . . . the circle whose closed nature was the transcendental essence of their life has, for us, been broken, we cannot breathe in a closed world.⁴⁰

The political significance of this statement is that it directly rejects the claim of Soul and Form that there can be no progress in society. In recognizing that we cannot return to some mythical golden age, Lukacs moved towards progressive thought in politics as well as aesthetics. Amid the butchery of war, Lukacs's romantic idealism was replaced by an urgent need to find a way to bring his skills into use in society. His friend, Bela Balazs, described Lukacs's new learnings thus: "Gyuri's great new philosophy. Messianism. A homogenous world as the goal of redemption."⁴¹

Having dismissed the tragic epidrama as a valid artistic form for modern society, Lukacs then moved to an artistic position which is consistent with Marxism. He maintained that certain artistic forms are suited for certain historical eras. Thus, while the tragedy is the ideal art form for the Greek era, under capitalism⁴² the novel fills its place. Like the capitalist world, the novel is made up of features which cannot be mediated: on the one hand the idealistic individual, on

the other the alienated world characterized by rigid and impenetrable social forms. The significance of this new interpretation of the dichotomy between society and the individual is that for the first time Lukacs links it to the social forms of that era, and not to some timeless quality of mankind:

. . . the novel [is] the representative art-form of our age; because the structural categories of the novel constitutively coincide with the world as we know it is today.⁴³

Lukacs discusses what he sees as three basic types of novelistic solutions to the problems of capitalism: abstract idealism, romantic disillusionment, and Goethe's Utopia. The abstractly idealist reaction to the world is discussed in relation to Cervantes's Don Quixote.⁴⁴ Quixote, who cannot accept any aspect of the world, represents what Lukacs sees as an ultimately self-defeating opposition to the world. To begin with, his ideal is long past: the chivalry of medieval times cannot be returned. But, more important to Lukacs, his narrow and closed approach to reality allowed no mediation between his idea and reality:

The demonism of the narrowing of the soul is the demonism of abstract idealism. It is the mentality which chooses the direct, straight path towards the realization of the ideal; which, dazzled by the demon, forgets the distance between ideal and idea, between psyche and soul; which, with the most authentic and unshakeable faith, concludes that the idea, because it should be, necessarily must be . . .⁴⁵

Lukacs discusses the second novelistic reaction to capitalism, that of 'romantic disillusionment', mainly in reference to Goncharev's Oblomov.⁴⁶ Romantic disillusionment is the withdrawal of the subject from the problems of the world, through seeking subject matter for

novels in the internal crises of the psyche. Lukacs dismisses this type of novel:

the central problematic [with this type of novel] is the disappearance of epic symbolization, the disintegration of form in a nebulous and unstructured sequence of moods and reflections about moods, the replacement of a sensuously meaningful story by psychological analysis.⁴⁷

The third attempt to provide a satisfactory synthesis between the individual's goals and society is represented in Theory of the Novel by only Goethe's Wilhelm Meister.⁴⁸ This describes a utopia of the noble class, ruled by humanistic values not dissimilar to those of the early Marx. Lukacs begins his essay discussing Goethe by posing the possibility that the utopian project is realisable:

... a reconciliation between interiority and reality, although problematic, is nevertheless possible; ... it has to be sought in hard struggles and dangerous adventures, yet it is ultimately possible to achieve.⁴⁹

Whereas 'abstract idealism' and 'romantic disillusionment' are dismissed out of hand, Goethe's Utopian novel receives a balanced review. Lukacs is obviously attracted to the possibilities of a Utopia:

This form [Goethe's Utopia] has been called the 'novel of education'--rightly, because its action has to be a conscious, controlled process aimed at a certain goal: the development of qualities in men which would never blossom without the active intervention of other men and circumstances; whilst the goal thus attained is in itself formative and encouraging to others--is itself a means of education.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, Lukacs ultimately continued to oppose the Utopian project as being unlikely to create a sufficiently universal society of free beings. Although the quality of the spirit is unparalleled in the noble Utopia, Lukacs recognizes that a secret society of nobility "is

nevertheless raised to a height of substantiality to which it cannot inwardly be equal."⁵¹

Theory of the Novel concludes with an interesting, though vague discussion of the possibilities inherent in Russian literature. Though some writers, such as Arato and Breines,⁵² have underlined what they see as the importance of this chapter, my feeling is that its main relevance to Lukacs's later political development lies in the fact that it is the first sign of any special interest in Russian culture and politics, rather than in any foretelling of the Russian Revolution.

Conclusion

In one way, the distance Lukacs travelled between Soul and Form and Theory of the Novel was not considerable. In both works, he explicitly rejects any solutions to his central dilemma: how can the idealistic intellectual participate in the world without becoming hopelessly corrupt?

The real difference between the two books is in the tone and form of Lukacs's rejections of cultural/political solutions. Soul and Form strongly adopts the tragic form as the only positive relationship between the hero and society. No progressive change is possible, and tragedy remains a solution only for the elite. The aloofness required of the tragic hero clearly renders political action impossible. In addition, Soul and Form is filled with disparaging comments about the lack of spirit of the common man, and reflects what Marx would have called an 'aristocratic' opposition to capitalism. Lukacs's desire is

clearly to return to the age of the Greeks, certainly not to create any form of new society.

On the other hand, Theory of the Novel shows the urgency Lukacs felt in the midst of the First World War. Recognizing that the era he lived in was altogether different from that of the Greeks, he quickly dismissed the complacent quest for a return to the past which characterized Soul and Form. Any solution must be a new solution fitted to the needs of the industrial society.

Despite an obvious openness to socialistic political solutions, notably in his discussion of Goethe's Utopia, Lukacs rejected the specific examples he examined. In forthcoming chapters, I will be agreeing that this was due to the nature of the political alternatives, and especially due to the divided response of the socialist movement to the outbreak of war.

Thus I have shown the cause for the extent and the limitations of the individual bourgeois intellectual's journey towards socialist action. Lukacs's disdain for the narrow bourgeois life was typical of many intellectuals, and the degenerating political situation from the era of Soul and Form to that of Theory of the Novel forced his rather idle complaints of the former book into the systematic search for solutions characteristic of the latter. Without a concrete political alternative, however, the intellectual tends to remain racked with the doubt Lukacs expressed in the final passage of Theory of the Novel:

It will be the task of historico-philosophical interpretation to decide whether we are really about to leave the age of absolute sinfulness or whether the new has no other herald but our hopes

which are signs of a world still to come, still so weak that it can be easily crushed by the sterile power of the merely existent.⁵³

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIALISM'S LENINIST METAMORPHOSIS

During Marx's lifetime, his economic and political writings were merely a radical strand within a general socialist and anarchist current which crystallized, dissolved, and recrystallized in various forms. If Marx became unhappy with the direction of organizations with which he associated, he would battle his opponents. If unsuccessful, he would leave the organization. There could be no question of his accepting organizational inertia, and Marx was not open to collaboration or accommodation with capitalism or capitalist legality.

Following Marx's death in 1883, his theories became static: his followers were more interested in eliciting formal support for Marx-ism than in extending Marx's revolutionary dialectical method. Consequently their struggle centered around winning German Social Democracy to acceptance of the simplified "Marxist" doctrines of an Erfurt Program.⁵⁴ The existence of a mass organization committed to a Marxist program was superficially a major breakthrough for Marx's ideas. Marxism rapidly became (and remains) one of the major political poles of attraction in Europe. Unlike Marx's free spirit, however, a mass organization can become its own *raison d'etre*, committed to its own survival above the freeing of the proletariat's shackles.

The transformation of Marx's theory of revolution into the dogma of a mass party reached a crisis with the outbreak of war in 1914. Leftward-leaning intellectuals including Lukacs reacted with disgust not only to the war, but also the impotence of response of the "socialist" movement. Within the movement itself, the far left, especially Lenin and Luxemburg, responded by re-examining the philosophical roots of Marxism (especially the Hegelian-inspired dialectic), and rejected the neo-positivist position of the Second International. The new organizational, philosophical, and political positions which derived from his studies helped to propel the Bolsheviks to power in Russia, and presented a compelling example for Lukacs and other Hungarians.

This chapter examines these developments within Social Democracy between 1883 and 1917. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first examines the developing political conservatism of the official Socialist movement. The second section expands this analysis to the philosophy of the official movement. The final section explains Lenin's rediscovery of the dialectical roots of Marxism and the revolutionary impetus this gave to the struggle for socialism in Russia and across Europe.

The Second International in History

Crucial to the development of the Second International was the rapid growth, beginning in the 1870's, of German social democracy. The German party remained by far the largest and most influential organization in the International, up until its collapse in 1914. Yet

German social democracy was by no means a child of Marxism. Since the formation of the party in Marx's lifetime there had been at least two distinct political trends within it--Lassalleanism and Marxism. The Lassalleanist heritage already contained a tendency to accommodate and even to capitulate to the Prussian state. This tendency survived in the party despite the formal adoption by the Social Democratic Party (SDP) of a Marxist program in 1891, and was especially prevalent in the leadership.⁵⁵

Between 1883 and 1891, when the 'Erfurt Program' of the party was adopted, Karl Kautsky became the most influential thinker in the organization. It was he who brought Marxism to the popular consciousness. However, a political organization can never simply change from one form of ideology to another. In order to be adopted, specific elements of Marxism had to appeal to the cadres of the party. Lichtheim⁵⁶ places at the head of the list the commonly held belief that Marxism predicts the inevitable collapse of capitalism. Both August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, elder statesmen of the party, were of the opinion that capitalism was in fact about to collapse in the 1880's, with or without revolutionary working class action. Although the period was one of the most severe economic crises of the capitalist system, it was not accompanied by successful revolution, and the economy eventually revived.

Engels himself, who had taken on the mantle of official interpreter of Marxism, assisted Kautsky in drawing up the Erfurt Program. This document is notable mainly for a yawning gap between the theory of

inevitability and the reformist practical demands of the party. Engels seems to have felt that, provided the party held a 'correct' theoretical policy, its practical concerns were secondary:

At any rate, the theoretical part of the program holds its own; the chief thing is that it should contain nothing objectionable from the theoretical standpoint, and that has in the main been secured.⁵⁷

With the Erfurt Program safely adopted, the party could continue its reformist parliamentary strategy at the same time as holding a formally Marxist ideology. The scope of practical policy in the Reichstag was, however, extremely limited. As in Hungary, the superficially democratic constitution was merely formal, with real power lying in the ruling bureaucracy. The SDP spoke for relatively minor reforms, such as the extension of the suffrage and more social welfare, much as the New Democrats do in Canada today.

In 1889, the first Congress of the Labor and Socialist International was organized on the initiative of the French and German parties. Held in Paris on the centenary of the French Revolution, it was from the beginning committed to a Marxist program. In the international sphere, however, this commitment to Marxism was used primarily to exclude "ultra-leftists", such as anarchists and others committed to extraparlimentary action. With the pre-eminence of the German SDP within the International, the International followed the SDP's path of peaceful agitation for socialism, and indifference or opposition to revolution. Inevitably, the gulf between the paper program of the organizations and their actual practice was challenged, primarily by leaders of the right within the movement such as Eduard

Bernstein. Bernstein and his supporters demanded that the program of the party be formally subordinated to the practical actions of the organization: "to me, that which is generally called the ultimate aim of socialism is nothing, but the movement is everything."⁵⁸

Bernstein was largely unsuccessful in his attempt. Subsequent history has shown that socialist and social democratic parties can survive and prosper within capitalism while holding 'maximalist' principles, but carrying out a strategy of demanding 'minimalist' reforms. This is, in fact, the general practice of modern social democracy. The British Labour Party, for instance, requires members to commit themselves to a program, printed on each membership card,⁵⁹ which is basically communist. In order to recruit members and activists, the maximum program is emphasized, and in order to get elected the minimum policies are put forward to the population as a whole. This does not appeal to young idealists such as Lukacs. In both pre-Marxist and Marxist writings, he expressed opposition to all compromise with the bourgeois order. This provides immediate reason for disputation with parliamentary socialism. Furthermore, his ethical imperative conflicts with the idea of dividing one's beliefs (program) from one's actions (strategy). The position of Social Democracy in Hungary was even more sullied to his eyes. Along with the theory of historical inevitability of socialism (which negates the role of will in history), social democracy believed that socialism could not be established before its time--before the complete development of the bourgeois order. Hungary was definitely not a developed capitalist country in either its economy

or in its political structure.⁶⁰ Therefore, the social democratic position was almost indistinguishable from that of the bourgeois liberals.⁶¹ Right up until the revolution, there was a blurring of distinction as bourgeois radicals such as Oscar Jaszi gravitated between the liberal and the socialist camps.

Lukacs did not write extensively about socialism in the period before 1917, and it was not possible to provide direct proof that he opposed Hungarian Social Democracy. Nevertheless, after his conversion to Communism in 1919, he gave this reason for his earlier failure to be an active socialist: "[I was] inactive because [I was] disgusted with the compromise parliamentary policy of the party."⁶² It is probably fair to say that Lukacs would have agreed with his friend Robert Michel's conclusion about the potency of Social Democracy: "a giant which, despite the size of its organs, could not make a virgin pregnant."⁶³

In fact, Hungarian Social Democracy (as opposed to the German SDP of which Michels was speaking) was particularly weak and insignificant until 1914. Extreme political repression could not allow sensible application of parliamentary tactics, a conclusion which G.D.H. Cole reached in his history of the Second International:

Politically, the conditions remained, right up until 1914, entirely incompatible with the growth of any socialist party capable of making effective use of parliamentary methods.⁶⁴

Lukacs returned to Hungary at the outbreak of war, and from this moment it was the Hungarian political scene which most interested him. Like the German SDP, Hungarian Social Democracy acquiesced with the war

plans of its own ruling class. After some debate, the party signed a declaration placing national interests above those of the working class⁶⁵ and became increasingly fervent in support of the war. Such a policy appears bizarre in retrospect, as the national interests in question were those of the Austro-Hungarian empire, from which the Hungarian SDP was pledged to withdraw and declare an independent Hungarian republic.

Although the inconsistency of policies such as these could not have impressed Lukacs, it was their failure to address the mass destruction of mankind which rendered the Hungarian SDP unattractive to Lukacs following the outbreak of war. The First World War caused Lukacs's already strong dislike of the bourgeoisie and its economic system to develop into a hatred verging on fanaticism. He felt that the war represented a logical extension of capitalism's mechanization of cultural life. Only a policy of absolute opposition to the war and the entire capitalist system would have appealed to him as the correct strategy. It was, of course, Lenin and the Bolsheviki who embraced this position.

The Philosophy of the Second International

Although the compromise policies of the Hungarian SDP and the Second International were important factors in alienating Lukacs from socialism, it is in the area of philosophy that the rift between the idealist intellectual and the mass movement is most obvious.

As mentioned in the first part of the chapter, Social Democracy in Germany became officially Marxist in 1891 with the publication of the Erfurt Program. Since the death of Marx, Engels had been codifying Marxism, producing the first comprehensive explanation of it in Anti-Dehring.⁶⁶ Marx's later economic writings are emphasized in this book; at the expense of his philosophic method, developed early in Marx's life. Also discussed earlier was the development of the theory of the historical inevitability of socialism, which became an important plank of the Second International, and was partially responsible for the failure of the International to respond in a principled fashion to the outbreak of war. Coupled with an emphasis upon economics, the post-Marx leaders of the socialist movement continually stressed the irrevocable opposition of materialism and idealism. Marx's work was characterized as the pinnacle of materialism.

In this section, I will attempt to outline the changes made to Marx's work by Engels and Kautsky in order to create what became known as Marxism. It is my argument that Lukacs and any other philosopher would find it hard to accept the limited role that a movement based upon historical determinism could offer.

The original form of 'Marxism', developed between 1843 and 1848, was a synthesis of philosophy and proletarian revolution. Marx's opposition to other forms of socialism was based upon the need to take account of 'objective' forces which tended to hamper or to encourage socialist change. It is in this context that Marx's earlier references to idealism and materialism should be understood:

... thoroughgoing Naturalism or Humanism distinguishes itself from both Idealism and Materialism, and is, at the same time, the truth uniting both. We see, at the same time, how only Naturalism is capable of grasping the act of world history.⁶⁷

Later in life, Marx became considerably more concerned with the operation of the objective factors in society--the historical development of the proletariat and the internal dynamics of the capitalist economic system. As a consequence, Marxism moved towards a science of prediction. Nevertheless, Marx continued to express strong opinions as to the strategies of the socialists in Europe. His attacks upon political rivals (such as Bakunin) and incorrect policies of socialist parties (such as the Gotha Program) demonstrate that he retained a sense of the relative autonomy of the political in history. This contradicts the fatalist view that socialism will inevitably follow capitalism (which was prevalent among Second International political leaders). To Marx, history was a unique process reaching its conclusion in a breakthrough of human consciousness, not simply the playing out of a pre-determined script.

Although Engels at no time challenged Marx's writings, his interpretations of the development of history presented a far more dogmatic and crudely materialist position.⁶⁸ Both he and Kautsky attempted to relate Marxism to Darwinism as related laws of evolution: "just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of development of human history."⁶⁹

In contrast, Marx's work was not based upon a belief that laws of human development could be compared with scientific laws (i.e. operating independently of human will). Rather, he contended that an

understanding of the nature of reality is the basis for the victory of rationality over the forces of nature. What is rational is human, and will be revealed through the unfolding of history. The ideal and the material are closely connected, in that the emergence of new ideas has as its precondition the material conditions enabling them to be realized:

Therefore mankind sets itself only such tasks as it can solve, since, looking at the matter more closely, it will always be found that the task itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution already exist, or are at least in the process of formation.⁷⁰

Engels turned this relatively simple kernel into an entire system, which attempted to uncover an underlying "law" of nature as well as of history. In his later years, he understood 'dialectical materialism' to be a theory of evolution, representing the general form of all matter and its development. Revolutionary change, he claimed, was rooted in the dialectical law of the transformation of quantity into quality. As evidence, in Anti-Duhring, Engels produced the example of water turning into ice at zero centigrade. This process occurs not gradually, as temperature is lowered, but ~~all at once~~, at a particular temperature. Other examples he produced were the melting of metals, the need for a sum of money to reach certain proportions before it can be considered capital, and the sudden transformation of chemical substances at certain proportions of combination.⁷¹

Engels's arguments are exceptionally weak. There is no doubt that certain natural substances change their form in an abrupt manner under certain conditions, but many others do not--infinitely large quantities

of concrete continue to be concrete, and the process of getting drunk is progressive rather than abrupt. One might as well argue that revolution is inevitable on the basis that 'it's the last straw which breaks the camel's back.'

Apart from theoretical weakness, the major problem with Engels's position is that it tends to exclude human will from the process of development:

That which is willed happens but rarely; in the majority of instances the numerous desired ends cross and conflict with one another . . . Thus the conflicts of innumerable individual wills and actions in the domain of history produce a state of affairs entirely analogous to that prevailing in the realm of nature. The ends of the actions are intended, but the results which actually follow from these actions are not intended. Historical events thus appear on the whole to be likewise governed by chance. But where on the surface accident holds sway, there actually it is always governed by inner hidden laws and it is only a matter of discovering these laws.⁷²

In fact, there is an inconsistency in Engels's desire to 'discover these laws.' If the events themselves have pre-determined results, there is little purpose in discovering in advance what the eventual outcome will be. Worse still, what is the purpose of agitating for socialism, if socialism is the inevitable outcome of history? This question was of utmost relevance in the practical activities of the German Social Democracy. As I showed earlier in this chapter, the party's actions were characterized by considerable inertia in the face of the increasing chaos in Europe. Engels's 'laws of history' were certain to drive a rift between the theory and the practice of the party, and the relative lack of concern which both he and Kautsky showed

in the actual practice of the party is certainly partly responsible for the ultimate failure of the party's theoretical program.

With Engels living in Britain, the onus of interpreting Marxism for practical use fell to Karl Kautsky. He produced very little which could be called innovative, and basically continued to extend the 'scientific' nature of Marx and Engels's work. As George Lichtheim has remarked in his studies of Marxism,⁷³ both Engels and Kautsky shifted the basis of Marxist philosophy desperately close to simple bourgeois positivism.

Though I have frequently referred to Lukacs as an 'idealist', it should be noted that his idealism was related almost exclusively to the aesthetic field. He was well acquainted with Marx's work from an early age, and seems to have taken an agnostic view towards it. In fact, in his youth he had been a member of the "Revolutionary Socialist Students of Budapest" which subscribed, in theory at least, to Marxism. Over the intervening years, when he lived in Germany, Lukacs came under the influence of idealist philosophers such as Kant and Hegel. He was especially interested in Hegel's 'objective idealism': a belief in the interchangeability of the real and the rational. If one substitutes 'humanity' for 'reality' Marx's own philosophic position, as explained earlier in the section, is not far from that of Hegel, and Lukacs.

Earlier, in Chapter Two, I argued that concern with the nature and the dynamic of society were always central to Lukacs's studies of his pre-Marxist period. By the time of Theory of the Novel, his interest in the relationship of culture to society closely resembled that of Marx in

the relationship of economics and human society. Lukacs drew the same conclusions from his study as Marx: that capitalist society is doomed.

Despite the apparent similarity of Lukacs's idealism with Marxism, he never showed any interest in organized social democracy. Although there are very few documents indicating his attitude to the German party, those which exist show consistently his dislike for the conservatism in ideology and practice which gripped that organization:

Every institution, once it becomes an end in itself, has a conservative character--which explains not only the reactionary policies of the church . . . but also the fact that movements that are initially very progressive stagnate as soon as the institutions they created become independent of the end. The history of German socialism, even before the war, but especially since it began, provides an all-too-instructive example of this process.⁷⁴

In writings published after his conversion to Marxism (and therefore having a tendency to see his pre-Marxist phase as more progressive than it actually was) Lukacs explicitly condemns Kautsky as a culprit in his own failure to be an active socialist:

At this point in my development (1914-1917), French anarcho-syndicalism exerted considerable influence over me. I could never accommodate myself to the Social Democratic ideology of the time, and above all to Kautsky.⁷⁵

In further post-1919 writings, Lukacs claimed that his failure to comprehend the philosophic importance of Marx was largely due to his reading of Marx as a scientist rather than philosopher:

As the imperialist nature of the war became clear, and as I deepened my study of Hegel and Feuerbach . . . so did I begin for the second time to concern myself profoundly with Marx . . . This time, however, it was a Marx seen through Hegelian rather than Simmelian spectacles. I no longer regarded Marx as "an outstanding man of science", an economist or sociologist, but began to see in him the universal thinker and dialectician.⁷⁶

Ultimately, this point was decisive in keeping Lukacs and many other disenchanted intellectuals from joining the socialist movement. The philosophy of the Second International was actually nothing of the sort, but rather a series of positivist statements which reduced the human element in creating freedom to the role of unconscious actors in a pre-determined script. Because Engels and Kautsky claimed to have superceded philosophy, it is not surprising that they were unable to recruit philosophers.

Lukacs and the Appeal of Bolshevism

The arrival of war marked the end of any possibility that Lukacs might join the Second International. It also marked the sudden rupture of Lenin and the Bolsheviks from the International. Unlike Rosa Luxemburg's purely practical opposition to Kautsky, Lenin moved quickly to provide a theoretical explanation for the failure of Kautskyism. This explanation, which extended to a search for the philosophic roots of Marxism in Hegel, was articulated and applied to practice in three works which formed the theoretical foundation of the new International: Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism (1916), State and Revolution (1917), and the April Theses (1917).

This section describes the importance of the political and philosophic changes Lenin forced in Bolshevik policy. I argue that the shift in Lenin's perspectives brought him much closer to Lukacs, to a position where each could accept the other in the new Communist International.

The most obvious change was the open commitment to revolution. Though writings of the time suggest that Lukacs had some difficulty accepting the notion of achieving moral ends through violence, the fact of revolution affected him deeply:

Herr von Lukacs drew attention to the Russian Revolution and the great ideas becoming a reality through it. The Russian Revolution is an event of whose European significance we do not yet have so much as an inkling; it is just taking its first steps to lead humanity beyond the bourgeois social order of mechanization and bureaucratization, militarism and imperialism, towards a free world in which the Spirit will once again rule and the Soul will at least be able to live.⁷⁷

In his work, Lenin, published in 1924, Lukacs stresses the revolutionary imperative as the outstanding aspect of Lenin's politics:

Lenin always saw the problem of the age as a whole: the onset of the last phase of capitalism and the possibility of turning the now inevitable final struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat in favour of the proletariat--of human salvation... he understood and explained all events, Russian as well as international from this perspective--from the perspective of the actuality of the revolution.⁷⁸

At the same time as presenting the new revolutionary imperative, Lenin shifted away from his early stress upon the party as an organization of professional revolutionaries. State and Revolution does not even mention the party in its discussion of post-revolutionary societal structure. This is spelled out more clearly in an article published just after October:

Every citizen to a man must act as judge and participate in the government of the country. And what is important to us is to enlist all the toilers to a man in the government of the state. This is a tremendously difficult task. But socialism cannot be introduced by a minority, by a party.⁷⁹

The reduction in importance of the party clearly impressed Lukacs. Just before the revolution in Hungary, the two socialist parties

(Communist and Social Democratic) agreed to unite. Lukacs wrote an article lauding this decision, but stressing that, with the revolution, the proletariat had gone beyond the party organization:

the proletarian movement has outgrown the organizational framework of the party . . . the development of the relations of production has proceeded so far as to allow the proletariat to take full power into its own hands.⁸⁰

In the international sphere, Lenin reacted quickly to the Second International debacle. He helped organize the 'Zimmerwald' conference in September, 1915, where he attempted to reconstruct an international movement of some sort. With the help of the German Spartakists around Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, Zimmerwald adopted Lenin's central political position: absolute opposition to all imperialist war.⁸¹

It is clear that the war fundamentally affected Lenin's view of history. Whereas the Kautskyan tradition had always presented historical development as basically evolutionary, the sudden collapse of the international working class movement forced Lenin to reconsider. With assistance from his studies of Hegel, Lenin attempted to reconstruct the framework of Marx's dialectical concept of history, and specifically of capitalism (Marx's early writings were not available to him). Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism (1916) argued that the monopoly stage of capitalism was characterized, not by the gradual acceptance of socialism, as Kautsky claimed, but by the sharpening of inter-imperialist rivalries and a tendency for catastrophic wars to break out.

At the same time, Lenin perceived a dialectical development within the working class movement. Reviewing Engels's writings on Ireland, Lenin concludes that the effect of imperialism on the British working class is thus:

1. a section of the British proletariat becomes bourgeois;
2. a section of the proletariat allows itself to be led by men bought by, or at least paid by, the bourgeoisie.⁸²

Working from this thesis, Lenin extends it to include the entire leadership of the Second International parties in the advanced countries. As a result, it is necessary to destroy these 'bourgeois labour parties.'

The catalyst for the destruction of the old leadership lies in the dialectical opposition of certain elements of the proletariat to this sell-out policy. In particular, the proletariat of imperialized countries. At the time of writing Imperialism, the Easter Rebellion broke out in Ireland. In the midst of the imperialist war, an alliance between petty-bourgeois and proletarian nationalists was able to threaten British rule in a colony. Lenin concluded that this was the path to forcing the dormant British proletariat to arms:

The dialectics of history are such that small nations, which are powerless as an independent factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which help the real power against imperialism to come on the scene, namely the socialist proletariat.⁸³

There were considerable similarities between Ireland and Hungary as parts of empires, and Lenin supported the Hungarian Soviet government in its nationalist goal of retaining its pre-war boundaries against the decisions of the Entente powers and Versailles:

Comrade Hungarian workers . . . you are now faced with the most thankful and most difficult task of holding your own in a rigorous war against the Entente. Be firm.⁸⁴

Like most Hungarians, Lukacs was nationalistic: possibly a product of the cultural and racial isolation of the Magyars (of Mongolian descent) within a largely Slavic and Romany Central Europe. Consequently, Lenin's acceptance of Hungarian nationalism brought him closer to Hungarian radicals. This was a departure from previous positions of the socialist left. Luxemburg, for instance, had always been an implacable opponent of all nationalism.

Although Lukacs's initial attraction to Bolshevism was obviously a result of the revolution and of the softening of the Left's position on nationalism, Lenin's new philosophic underpinning also narrowed the gap between the two men. As well as practical attacks upon the 'renegades', Lenin also undertook a serious investigation into the nature and application of the Marxist dialectic. In the absence of any of Marx's early writings, Lenin read Hegel's Science of Logic. His most important conclusion was that Marxists had hitherto spent insufficient time studying the philosophical roots of their beliefs:

It is impossible to completely grasp Marx's Capital, and especially its first chapter, if you have not studied through and understand the whole of Hegel's Logic. Consequently, none of the Marxists for the past half-century have understood Marx.⁸⁵

Significantly, Engels is not excluded from the category "none of the Marxists of the past half-century." Lenin tacitly rejected his fatalistic interpretation of Marx, reasserting the role of will in history:

The idea of the transformation of the ideal into real is very profound. Very important for history. But also in the personal life of man it is evident that there is much truth in this. Against vulgar materialism. N.B. The difference between the ideal and the material is also not unconditional, not excessive.⁸⁶

From an early age, Lukacs had questioned whether there was any possibility of reconciliation between the individual and the world. Lenin's insistence that will could alter history, and his practice of that insistence in Petrograd, effectively answered Lukacs's question.

Summary

Earlier in the thesis, I showed how Lukacs became critical of capitalist society and began searching for an alternative to it. This chapter has shown why socialism could not be a serious alternative to him when it was dominated by the philosophy and practice of the Second International for two basic reasons; first, because Engels and Kautsky had removed the philosophic element of Marxism, rendering it into a positivist ideology with a fatalistic view of history; and second, because Social Democratic practice proved incapable of dealing with the outbreak of imperialist war.

On the other hand, Lenin and the Bolsheviks were united in the face of war, reasserting the importance of an activist political practice, illuminated by a serious application of dialectical Marxism. It was on this basis that revolution was possible in Russia and elsewhere. Furthermore, though Lukacs could not have known at the time, both he and Lenin shared an interest in applying Hegel's philosophy in the midst of the world war.

CHAPTER FOUR

UNITY OF INTELLECTUAL AND PARTY: THE PRODUCTS OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

In this chapter, I will discuss the events which followed the end of war in 1918, leading ultimately to the Revolution of 1919 and Lukacs's conversion to Communism. I hope by this to show the positive outcome of Lukacs's theoretical development when combined with the momentum of the proletarian movement.

The Hungarian Revolution of 1919 took place amidst the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire and the failure of the Hungarian bourgeoisie to fill the power gap created by that collapse. At the conclusion of the First World War, several new countries emerged in Central Europe. To the north of present-day Hungary, Czechoslovakia was established from the two slavic nations of the Czechs and the Slovaks. To the south, Yugoslavia and an expanded Romania were carved from the southern extremities of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Romania, whose population is primarily of Daco-Roman origin, contained a large Hungarian minority, and both Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia contained smaller Hungarian enclaves.⁸⁷

As a result, the Hungarian government did not enjoy the usual bonding effect typical of newly-created countries. Millions of Hungarians lay outside the state's borders, and independence from the

Austro-Hungarian empire proved a mixed blessing. Though Budapest had been subject to the overall control of the Viennese royal seat, it was acknowledged as the power centre for the entire eastern section of the empire. Paradoxically, the Hungarian nation, in gaining independence, lost the psychological and economic advantages of dominance over its immediate neighbours.

Power was transferred from the monarchy to a bourgeois democratic government. Its class composition, political tendencies, and ultimate fate were similar to that of Kerensky's February-October, 1917 government in Russia. The new government, led by Mihaly Karolyi, was placed in an impossible situation. It did not have the administrative or military strength to curb the growing political and economic unrest in Budapest. Its membership was heterogeneous (almost half the cabinet ministers were nominally Social Democrats). Karolyi himself was an ardent pacifist. Both the right wing forces and the left began arming themselves. Inevitably, the government itself collapsed when members began taking sides in what promised to be a bloody civil war.⁸⁸

During March, 1919, the Social Democratic Party split, with the left-wing majority deciding to support the Communist Party in establishing a government on the basis of newly-formed workers' councils, though these were of significance only in Budapest. The threat of civil war collapsed when the French government moved against Hungary in Transylvania in order to enforce the terms of defeat of the First World War. Right wing forces realized that any government without the support of the proletariat would not be able to combat the growing

threat to the territorial integrity of the nation. As a consequence, there was no serious opposition when Communist and Social Democratic leaders seized power on March 21st in the name of the Budapest Workers' Soviet. A Revolutionary Governing Council was formed, with Commissars rather than ministers, and the Communist Party leader, Bela Kun, assuming responsibility for foreign affairs. Despite the lack of bloodshed or any real opposition from the right-wing, there can be little doubt that the new Hungarian government represented the first extension of Bolshevism into the sphere of international revolution:

Two world currents clash in battle over the Hungarian Soviet Republic: imperialist capitalism and Bolshevik socialism.⁸⁹

The new government was dominated by the Communists. Although only 10 of 26 members of the governing council were Communist, several Social Democrats supported them at every vote, and the most right-wing members of the government did not bother to attend to their business: their aim was rather to gather information on the activities of the government.

The Revolution was faced by external difficulties far more serious than those facing it internally. With the co-optation of the Budapest working class to the government, only the church posed a serious threat to the regime's social and economic plans. On the other hand, the victory of the left did absolutely nothing to aid the struggle against external threats to Hungary's sovereignty. In fact, the opposite was true; France in particular became more committed to imposing the terms of the Trianon Pact.⁹⁰ Left wing forces in other countries demonstrated their lack of internationalism by refusing to support the new government materially. Czechoslovakia, for instance, was led by a decidedly left-

of-centre coalition, but, given that it had only a year before achieved independence from the Austro-Hungarian empire, it was hardly likely to jeopardize its independence through attacking the countries which granted its freedom. Austria was in no position to offer support: it had been defeated in war and was dependent on Entente aid even to feed the masses of Vienna. The only country which could possibly support Hungary was Russia: the Red Army was winning the war against foreign intervention, and its Ukrainian section was advancing towards the Hungarian border from the east.

In retrospect, it is apparent that the Red Army was unlikely to relieve the government in Budapest quickly, and this problem was exacerbated by the fact that commanders of the Ukrainian Red Army did not follow their commands from Moscow.⁹¹ As a result, Hungary was left to fight a concerted attack from several fronts⁹² which it could possibly hope to win, given the almost complete lack of organization of Hungarian forces.⁹³ On August 1st, 1919, the Revolutionary Governing Council was forced to relinquish power in the face of military defeat at the hands of the Romanian Army. The government had been in power only 133 days. A White Terror followed.

Because the revolutionary government lasted such a short period of time, it has become common to focus upon the inadequacies of the government rather than its accomplishments. In one sense, this is valid, for the brevity of the regime did not allow its policies to be adequately judged; and the result certainly pushed Hungary away from socialism for a generation. On the other hand, it should be emphasized

that internal policies cannot be linked to the defeat of the revolution, due primarily to failure on the battlefield. Although the Hungarian revolutionary experiment will never be remembered for its longevity, or its military prowess, it left a legacy of social reform which merits re-examination. By co-opting Lukacs and the majority of Hungary's intellectual leadership to the goals of the revolution, the 1919 Soviet government gave us an intriguing glimpse of the potential unleashed by a genuine unity of the intellectuals and the proletariat. The first part of this chapter examines some of the social objectives of the government, focussing in particular upon Lukacs's role within it. The last part of the chapter examines Lukacs's philosophic accommodation to communism through a study of his writings of the revolutionary period.

Lukacs as People's Commissar

Having joined the Communist Party shortly after its formation in 1918, Lukacs rose rapidly to a position of prominence. He was elected to the Central Committee of the Party in early 1919, to replace members of the Committee who had been imprisoned. He showed considerable verve in developing the mass movement while more experienced members of the Party languished in jail.⁹⁴ Following the revolution, Lukacs was appointed to the Revolutionary Governing Council with responsibilities for Culture and Education. Although in theory he shared these with a Social Democrat, Zsigmond Kunfi, in practice he was in command, and Kunfi eventually resigned entirely from the government.⁹⁵

In education, Lukacs set about entirely re-organizing the system with three major goals.⁹⁶ Firstly, to remove class and caste barriers to educational advancement; secondly, to provide basic education for the working and peasant classes; and thirdly, to establish a leftist dominated higher education system in order to produce the intellectual leaders of the new society.

The rapid broadening of elementary education was to be accomplished by the vast expansion of teacher training, at the expense of such University faculties as divinity and journalism, which were abolished. Lukacs hoped for 12,000 new teachers to begin training immediately, though this proved impractical.⁹⁷ Following the example of the Bolshevik government, education in revolutionary Hungary included subjects which even today are sometimes considered dangerous in Western countries, such as sexual education and social studies. Elementary forms of classroom democracy, such as student councils, were created, though these were abolished at the end of the school year.⁹⁸ Basic adult education was initiated, with thousands of people taught to read and write in a campaign similar to that being carried out today by Nicaragua's Sandinista government. Philosophers and scientists were encouraged to popularize their professions in special lectures to which only manual labourers were invited.⁹⁹ At the age of fourteen, all children were to attend trade schools for five years, with the exception of two groups; future teachers, and future intellectual leaders. These were to attend academic courses until entry to university, at which time the most 'intelligent' were sent to the universities.

The most striking advances were made in the area of higher education, probably because Lukacs was friendly with almost every notable progressive intellectual in Hungary. A number of members of pre-revolution study groups with Lukacs were appointed to senior positions in universities. Karl Mannheim, for example, was appointed Professor of Philosophy at the University of Budapest, while Arnold Hauser, the noted literary critic, was appointed Professor of Literary Theory at the same institution. As Lukacs stated, "the Soviet government sought especially to care for the gifted."¹⁰⁰ Indeed, he even argued they should be ineligible for duty in the raging war against foreign invasion. This infuriated the Social Democratic leaders, who were devoting most of their efforts to the military struggle. Military commander Wilhelm Bohm rebuffed Lukacs:

People's Commissar Lukacs addressed to the Supreme Army Command two letters wherein he requested deferment from military service of all students in the medical and philosophic faculties as well as the polytechnical faculties, so as not to 'endanger the continuity of education' and 'not to deprive the nation of cultivated specialists for years to come' . . . [I agree that these are important considerations] nevertheless in the death struggle of the proletariat, with the catastrophic shortage of officers, physicians and soldiers, this amounted to indifference in the face of the revolution.¹⁰¹

It should not be thought, however, that Lukacs was attempting to protect his proteges because of his own intellectual fear of fighting. In the latter days of the Republic, Lukacs went to the battlefield himself as an officer, acquitting himself with honour.¹⁰²

Criticism of Lukacs's fervour in reforming and expanding the educational system has led some writers, notably Rudolf Tokes, to dismiss him and his close collaborators as dangerous maniacs with no

concern for the possible negative impact of their policies.¹⁰³ This, however, is not congruous with the actual reforms, certainly in the area of education. Most of the new policies in educational structure echo those which were carried out by western capitalist nations in the immediate post-World War Two period; comprehensive schools rather than class-based schooling; significant attention to adult education; expansion of universities; adoption of merit rather than social status as the key to educational advancement.

If the educational reforms of 1919 can be said to have overlooked reality in any area, it is in the belief that simply introducing a system based upon 'merit' would result in the creation of an elite based upon intellect rather than class. The subsequent efforts of many progressive regimes to move towards a meritocratic educational system has shown that this in itself cannot ensure a meritocratic society with equal opportunity for all. The development of leadership skills occurs not merely through the educational system, but is inculcated in children through family and peer-associates from an early age. Notwithstanding the formal existence of meritocratic educational systems in most developed countries, children from upper class families tend to be the most successful within the educational system,¹⁰⁴ and this remains the case in most post-revolutionary societies. In defence of Lukacs, however, this problem has never been adequately addressed in any socialist society, where class (or caste) divisions remain strong.¹⁰⁵

Lukacs's cultural policies while in office were greatly aided by almost universal support for the new regime amongst artists and writers.¹⁰⁶ The fact that Lukacs himself was the leading aesthetician of the period also helped to legitimize his policies in the cultural field.

In the fields of art and literature, the government attempted to strike a balance between complete liberalism (permitting literature of a clearly counter-revolutionary intent) and the other extreme of stifling talent solely because it was not socialist or communist. With Lukacs at the helm, even conservative writers were wooed into support for (or at least acceptance of) the new Republic. These nationalist writers were horrified by the failure of the old system:

Why should I feel sorry for yesterday's Budapest, the pickpocket, smelly, foul Budapest, the old Hungary that was perfidious to all her worthy sons, and ripe for execution in her sins.¹⁰⁷

Key to establishing a broad range of support in the artistic community was the nurturing of nationalist, as well as socialist, talent. As the previous quotation suggests, nationalists felt that the old system had let down Hungary as a nation, and were happy to assist the government's 'agitprop' campaign through the production of vast quantities of socialist, nationalist propaganda, often taking the form of bold posters. One of the first distributed posters of the Republic featured a giant red fist smashing the negotiating table at Versailles above the legend "Scoundrels! Is this what you wanted?"¹⁰⁸ Many posters of the Republic survive and have been reprinted.¹⁰⁹

Lukács's encouragement of the artistic community's radical nationalism was not unproblematic, however. The Hungarian intellectual community has been well known for its disdainful and superior attitude towards the cultures of the peoples living around Hungary, and this was evident in an editorial written by a leading Hungarian intellectual, Jozsef Veszi:

Since its origins, Hungary has been the connecting link between East and West. The overbearing gentlemen in Paris (at Versailles) overlooked this, when they stretched out their hands for our land, which is an integral part of European culture and order, to throw it as booty for the history-less peoples of our neighbouring area.¹¹⁰

Such an attitude, printed in an official government publication, was obviously inconsistent with the goals of international Communism. Given that the regime was doomed to military defeat, this may not be an important issue in retrospect, but it does evidence a lack of discipline and authentic Communist spirit among intellectuals.

Lukács's tolerance was not limited to right-wing deviations from Communism, however. He also encouraged the beginnings of modernist and surrealist art within Hungary, though it surely did not fit into his own, classical tastes. The group working under the umbrella of the artistic journal Ma (Today) produced the first Hungarian surrealism, engaged in Agitprop activities outside Budapest, and generally offended the artistic establishment. The innovators infuriated Lukács's critics, who attacked him from both left and right, the left on the grounds that he was giving no assistance to openly socialist material (e.g. socialist realism), the right because they feared that a communist dictatorship of

artistic terror was developing.¹¹¹ In reply, Lukacs offered this manifesto:

The Commissariat for Educational Affairs will not officially support the literature of any tendency or party. The Communist cultural program only distinguishes between good and bad literature, and it is not inclined to abandon art to dilletantism in the name of 'socialism.' The Communist culture program is to make available to the proletariat the highest and purest art, and the Commissariat will not tolerate the corrupting of taste with editorial poetastery corrupted for political purposes. Politics is merely instrumental, culture is the goal.¹¹²

Hungary is a country with a rich musical tradition, having both a vibrant folk music and a number of internationally renowned composers. Both Bela Bartok and Zoltan Kodaly were supporters of the revolution, with Kodaly taking the position of head of the Academy of Music. Bartok gave a public recital for the first time in nine years, and special concerts for the working classes were well supported.¹¹³ Following the defeat of the revolution, both Bartok and Kodaly ceased public activities, and both were eventually forced into exile.

It was in the nascent film industry, however, that the most striking achievements of Lukacs's reign as Commissar were realized. Lukacs himself had little expertise in this area, but he grasped the possibility of the new medium by providing the necessary resources and political support to develop a new revolutionary culture. In the next few pages, I will examine in some depth the progress of Hungarian film during the Soviet Republic.

Before the revolution, Hungarian film-making had been extremely limited. From 1896, when the first cinema show was given in Budapest, to 1912, cinema was basically a side-show attraction, with only one

feature film produced in Hungary.¹¹⁴ In 1912, the first permanent film studio was constructed in Budapest, and from then until 1918 approximately three two-reel films were made each year. In 1914 Alexander Korda¹¹⁵ appeared on the scene, with his first movie, The Mistaken Journalist. He rapidly became the best known director, making eight films before the revolution.¹¹⁶

At the same time as Korda was developing his directing skills, several other latterday film celebrities were beginning their careers. Mihaly Kertesz (Michael Curtiz) vied with Korda for recognition as a director. Arisztid Olt (Bela Lugosi) was a well-known stage actor, employed at the National Theater of Budapest. He and Peter Lorre were founding members of the first Hungarian Actors' Union. Others who have not since become famous in Hollywood include Bela Balogh and Istvan Szots, both of whom weathered the White Terror and began making films again in the mid-twenties.

Although the cinema developed relatively quickly in Hungary, there were a number of problems which tended to push the artistic community to the left. First, the conservatism of the ruling elite was antagonistic to the very idea of a new art form. Second, the peculiar manner in which the industry developed in Hungary gave an unbalanced share of profits to the owners of the cinemas, rather than to the film-makers.¹¹⁷ The directors who financed the studios therefore felt exploited by the capitalists who distributed and showed the pictures. Korda, in particular, violently attacked the cinema owners for extinguishing art in favour of cheap profits in their selection of films. Because of his

ownership of the "Corvin" studio, he was able to finance a number of radical journals propogating his discontent, the best known of which was "Mozihet" (Movie Week).

Tensions within the industry became so serious that the imperial government gave consideration to nationalizing the studios, thus silencing Korda and his critics. Korda responded with his own plan which called for the nationalization of the whole industry under the control of the producers of the films. His journal began openly to support the left:

Those who continue to support the dominating classes should be careful to observe that they stop defending their positions with such venom . . . No one can fight against socialism.¹¹⁸

Korda became the Commissioner of Cinema Production under the short-lived Karolyi government. When Karolyi was forced to resign, Korda was invited by George Lukacs to formulate a plan for the reorganization of the industry along socialist lines. Shortly after taking power, Lukacs signed into effect the following decree which was probably written for him by Korda:

By this decree, the Hungarian Republic of Councils is taking into public hands all film production studios, all film laboratories, all distribution companies, all cinemas and all annexed industries. This has the effect without reference to the size of the enterprises and includes all buildings and funds held by the companies required for continued operations.¹¹⁹

The result was a model for the socialist organization of a creative industry. With Lukacs's support, Korda established a government-appointed committee, which had nominal control over the operations of the entire industry.¹²⁰ Korda headed this committee, in which each member had specific tasks. One oversaw the reorganization of the

nationalized industry, another was responsible for commercial aspects, and a third oversaw artistic quality. The committee did not involve itself in day-to-day activities. The production of the film was the sole responsibility of the director, and film making was not interfered with by any government body. The directors of movies met together as the 'directoire', negotiating their requests for funds to make films with the government-appointed committee.

Together, the two committees produced a list of important works of literature which should be produced as soon as possible. This list included the following:

Russian literature: Gorki: Mother; Gogol: Taras Bulba; Tolstoy: The Power of Darkness; Artaybashev: Passion.

English literature: Shaw: The Devil's Disciple; Wells: Changed Lives; Dickens: A Christmas Carol.

French literature: Stendhal: Le Rouge et le Noir; Zola: The Fault of Abbot Mouret; Hugo: The Man Who Laughs; Verne: Matthias Sandorff.

German literature: Heinrich Mann: Die Armen; Hauptmann: Die Weber, Hanneles Himmelfart; Sudermann: The End of Sodomy.

Scandinavian literature: Ibsen: Rosmersholm, The Ghosts.¹²¹

The sheer breadth of approach is remarkable for the time, and here a comparison with Russia is appropriate: none of the best-known "revolutionary" films were in fact made until almost ten years after the Soviet Revolution, and the Soviet film industry did not attempt classics of literature until some time after that.¹²² Although none of the films of foreign literature mentioned above were actually completed, a number of films based upon classic literature were released before the fall of

the Republic. Most were adaptations of works by leading Hungarian writers such as Mor Jokai, but several were based on foreign novels. Oliver Twist was made by Marton Garas; Gorky's Money was made by Sandor Pallos (executed by Horthy in 1920); and Samuel the Seeker, a novel by Upton Sinclair, was adapted for film by Garas and Korda.

Given Korda's preeminence in the film community, it is not surprising that the most highly acclaimed films of the revolutionary era were made by him. His administrative duties occupied him for much of the time, but he did complete three two-reel movies. Unfortunately only one now survives as film: The White Rose, an adaptation of a peasant novel written by Jokai. The other two, Yamata, and Ave Caesar, survive only as screenplays.

Yamata is the story of a black slave treated badly by his master. Another artistocrat saves him by taking the boy himself, treating him well. Eventually, the boy realizes that his oppression remains, although in a more subtle form. Ave Caesar is also a progressive film, the story of a Habsburg prince who uses his manservant to kidnap a gypsy girl for his sexual pleasure. The girl is blighted for life by the episode. Given the continuing anti-gypsy sentiment in Hungary, this film is remarkably advanced in racial consciousness.

In total, thirty-one films were released during the revolution. This is a greater number than had been made in the entire previous history of the industry. When the Republic collapsed, both Korda and Lugosi were forced to leave the country. Neither returned.

In essence, the success of the revolutionary film industry was another product of the failure of capitalist development in Hungary. The artistic petty bourgeoisie was forced towards the revolution as a result of the half-hearted capitalization of the economy by a capitalist class which, as in Russia, was dependent upon the political leadership of the aristocratic class. As in Russia, there was a desperate need for traditional democratic norms such as freedom of expression. Hungary's leaders became involved in futile war which they lost, further antagonizing intellectuals who, then as now, were greatly concerned with the stature and the soul of the homeland.

If the failures of the previous regime provided objective reasons why artistic intellectuals would support the revolution, Lukacs's own personality and importance undoubtedly played a major part in bringing his colleagues along with him. Though film was not one of his major preoccupations, he had understood its potential as early as 1913, when he wrote the short essay "The Poetry of the Film."¹²³ More significantly, perhaps, he was personally friendly with Alexander Korda, and was known and respected by almost all Hungarian intellectuals.

The sheer breadth of the attempted reforms gives an indication of the vitality and strength of purpose which Lukacs and his intellectual cohorts brought to Hungary during 1919. More remarkable, perhaps, is the extent to which many of these planned reforms were actually carried out in the 100 days of the revolution. Lukacs's performance as Peoples' Commissar demonstrates the positive impact of Bolshevik revolutionism upon the entire Hungarian nation, through its ability to channel the

enthusiasm and idealism of the intellectuals towards the creation of a new, egalitarian society.

Lukacs's Philosophic Breakthrough

The rapid unfolding of events in the immediate post-war period did not allow Lukacs the luxury of an extended period of reflection in order to rationalize and explain his sudden conversion to Communism. This task was put off until the early 1920's, when he penned his most famous Marxist works. Nevertheless, one document of note from the revolutionary period remains as Lukacs's first coherent attempts to combine his philosophy of culture with Marxism. "The Old Culture and The New Culture",¹²⁴ a series of speeches delivered to an audience of workers, placed Lukacs's criticism of bourgeois culture within a Marxist context, and also suggests some of the advantages culture will enjoy in a socialist society.

The first half of the document deals with 'the old culture', that of capitalism. It is in many ways merely a Marxist rephrasing of earlier critiques of bourgeois culture, such as Theory of the Novel. Lukacs begins by asserting that the interrelation between culture and politics and economics is strong and close. He defines culture as "the ensemble of valuable products and abilities which are dispensable in relation to the immediate maintenance of life . . . [culture] is available [where] free energies are at the disposal of culture."¹²⁵ Just as political institutions are controlled by the ruling class of the day, so is the use of the extra funds and labour available to create

culture. In pre-capitalist societies, the ruling class was largely not involved in the actual process of production, and therefore was able to devote much of its own time to the free creation of culture. Henry VIII of England, for example, was an accomplished musician and composer.

The onset of capitalism, however, led to the subjugation of even the ruling class to the process of production:

economic life ceased to be a means to social life: it placed itself at the centre, became an end in itself, the goal of all social activity. The first and most important result was that the life of society was transformed into a grand exchange relationship; society itself becomes a huge market . . . Everything ceases to be valuable for itself or by virtue of its inner (e.g. artistic, ethical) value; a thing has value only as a ware bought and sold on the market.¹²⁶

This passage is highly reminiscent of Marx on the same subject:

The exchange value of a palace can be expressed in a certain number of boxes of shoe-blackening. On the contrary, London manufacturers of shoe-blackening have expressed the exchange value of their many boxes of blackening, in palaces.¹²⁷

. . . all the so-called higher forms of labour--intellectual, artistic, etc.--have been turned into commodities and have thus lost their former sacredness.¹²⁸

At the same time as capitalism has brought art and culture into the marketplace, so it has also applied capitalist production norms into artistic production, destroying individualist expression:

Capitalist production . . . not only wrests property in the means of production from workers, but, as a result of the always expanding and increasingly specialized division of labour, it so fragments and divides the developmental process of the product that no part is in itself meaningful and self-contained. No individual worker's labour is in immediate and perceptible linkage with the finished product: the latter has meaning only for the abstract calculation of the capitalists, that is, only as a commodity.¹²⁹

The individual producer's loss of artistic control through the division of labour is further exacerbated by the tendency of capitalism

to encourage trends in art and culture merely for the purpose of selling more of that art to people who wish to remain 'up to date.' Artists, in order to sell their products, are forced to copy the fashions of the market rather than their own artistic imperatives.¹³⁰

Lukacs views the spectre of the destruction of high culture as merely a symptom of the internal contradictions between the ideology of capitalism on the one hand, and the exigencies of capitalist production on the other. The ideology of the advancing bourgeois class was that of individual freedom: this was the rallying cry to society to overthrow the feudal order. Thus during the period of conflict between the feudal and the capitalist order, capitalist (or bourgeois) culture was genuine and powerful. As soon as the bourgeoisie gained control of society it could no longer carry through its own ideology:

it was impossible for the bourgeois class to apply its own idea of freedom to the proletariat. The insurpassable dualism of this situation is the following: the bourgeoisie must either deny this ideology or must employ it as a veil covering those actions contradicting it. In the first case the result would be a total ideallessness, a moral chaos, since by virtue of its position in the production system the bourgeoisie is not capable of producing an ideology other than that of individual freedom. In the second case, the bourgeoisie faces the moral crisis of an internal lie: it is forced to act against its own ideology.¹³¹

It is at this point that Lukacs combines the Marxist analysis of the contradictions in society with his own earlier aesthetic theories expressed in Soul and Form and Theory of the Novel. The division between individual and society was the central issue of those earlier works. Then, Lukacs regarded the division as an inevitable result of the spiritual gulf between artists and the rest of society. Now, he

explains the contradiction between the idealistic individual and the alienated world as a product of the economic system:

... the inner necessity of the direction of ideology and culture requires that all cultural products proclaim man as an end in himself. On the other hand, the material--that which is formed by the ideological cultural forms--is a living negation of this very idea. The best poetry of capitalism, for example, could thus not be a simple reflection of its period--as was, for example Greek poetry whose eternal beauty sprang precisely from this naturally uncritical mirroring--but only a critique of the existing order.¹³²

Lukacs's new belief in the close relationship between capitalism and the problems in culture gave him the moral justification to take part in the revolution. In battling capitalism, Lukacs felt he was also battling the sterility of the 'old culture', and helping to build the foundations for a new culture in which the alienation of man from his world could be overcome.

The second half of "The Old Culture and the New Culture" is devoted to discussion of the characteristics of culture in the socialist society. First, Lukacs argues, man must be freed of the tyranny of the economy. This is required on an individual basis, as the artist throws off the shackles of 'fashion' and 'market demand', and also in wider society, where the primacy of the economy will be replaced by conscious planning on the basis of human need:

the meaning of the communist transformation of society from the standpoint of culture [is] above all the end of the domination of the economy over the totality of life. It thereby means an end to the impossible and discordant relation between man and his labour, in which man is subjugated to the means of production and not the other way around.¹³³

The transformation of the economy provides the precondition for the transformation of culture. By planning on the basis of human needs and

wants, man is able to transcend the pressures of the market, and culture can once again rise above its economic "value." Thus the anarchy of new fashions succeeding one another at the whim of the market will be replaced by "organic continuum, genuine development: each individual moment follows necessarily out of the substantive pre-conditions of the preceding movement."¹³⁴ By gaining autonomy from the market, culture can once again serve the needs of man:

When a particular product (house, furniture, etc.) is produced not as a commodity but in such a way that its own possibilities of beauty attain the highest possible fulfillment, this means the same as saying: the house or piece of furniture is in the service of man's humanness; it complies with his demands.¹³⁵

Lukacs also believes that the abolition of capitalism will result in the abolition of many evils in society which, while not ultimate questions of human existence, tend to distract the artist from those higher questions:

someone is racking his brain over a complex scientific problem but during his work he contracts an unrelenting toothache. Clearly, in most cases, he would be unable to remain in the stream of his thought and work until the immediate pain is relieved. The annihilation of capitalism, the new socialist reconstruction of the economy means the end of all toothaches for the whole of humanity.¹³⁶

"The Old Culture and the New Culture" appears to be a classically orthodox piece of Marxist writing. Nothing in its text could be challenged, even by the most severe followers of Lenin's early Bolshevism.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, there are gaps in the lectures which cannot be easily explained away as a result of lack of time or restrictions in the lecture format.

Most notably absent is any reference to the class nature of culture in the proletarian state. Cultural controversies in the early years of the Russian Revolution centered upon the claims of the Proletkult group to represent the culture of the proletariat. Proletkult demanded, therefore, that they should be given preference over classical artists in state allocations of funds. Not only must Lukacs have been aware of these debates in the Soviet Union: he was also faced with a similar group to Proletkult in Hungary.¹³⁸ His own classicist background and perspective and his stress upon the autonomy of culture suggest that he would have been strongly opposed to the claims of Proletkult. Why, therefore, would he not make his position clear during these important and well-publicized lectures? One reason is that he was Minister of Culture and therefore bound to remain aloof from internal cultural debates. This is somewhat negated by the fact that he had already publicly ruled out special support for 'socialist' tendencies in art and culture.¹³⁹ Another, more cynical hypothesis for Lukacs's vague discussion of 'new culture' is that he was aware his views were likely to be at odds with others in the government and the Party, and he did not wish to provoke unnecessary disagreement.¹⁴⁰

Overall, "The Old Culture and the New Culture" is a damning critique of the inevitable limits of culture in a capitalist society. It does not, however, deal adequately with the likely path of culture in the new society. Lukacs's repeated stress upon the autonomy of culture under socialism fails to deal with the problem of how to dispose of the existing cultural infrastructure of personnel and organizations which

have developed in order to serve the capitalist system's cultural needs. Without major restructuring,¹⁴¹ which is likely to lead to less autonomy from political rulers, at least in the short term, cultural elites and ideas are likely to remain similar to those existing under capitalism. This problem was severe in Hungary, where the cultural elite was extremely well established in the major cities, enjoying vastly superior access to quality education and training than the bulk of the populace.

Summary

This chapter depicts the vitality and innovation Lukacs was able to contribute to the revolution. It shows the fruition of the unity of theory and practice as the intellectual's often wasted genius is harnessed to the power and energy of a movement of millions. Because of the military defeat of the revolution, we shall never know its full potential.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.¹⁴²

Despite the horrors of Nazism and Stalinism in the 1930's and 1940's, the growing reign of nuclear terror in the 1950's and 1960's, and the worldwide economic depression of today, the second decade of this century remains the most turbulent and dramatic of the modern era. Millions of lives were irrevocably altered by the combined upheavals of international war and revolution. For no one was this more true than George Lukacs. In 1910 he was a prominent cultural intellectual, circulating among the elite of German and Hungarian society, utterly disdainful of collective political action. By 1920 he was on the run from rightwing death squads, was a convinced Communist, and had served as a minister in Hungary's first socialist government.

This thesis has followed and interpreted the internal and external factors involved in Lukacs's long march. It has shown how history can tear apart the arrogance of individualism, thrusting the intellectual into the maelstrom of world events too horrible and on too grand a scale to be comprehended and battled alone. Yet, at the same time as the seemingly inexorable wheels of fate drive mankind towards oblivion, so

do they throw out alternatives to be grasped and acted upon by the most daring and perceptive among us.

It is not surprising that many of the most prominent converts to Communism were intellectuals like Lukacs. Their social status allowed them to avoid both the numbing drudgery of wage labour and the more dramatic dangers involved in war. Further, their insulation from the daily activities of capitalist production gave them a vantage point from which they could observe the overall social and economic trends. Finally, the class nature of capitalism ensures that only the wealthy and well-placed are likely to receive the type of education and upbringing needed to impart leadership skills.

The unfolding of history in Central Europe placed Lukacs in a strategic position where he was able to play a significant role in political and social events. This does not mean, however, that his participation was inevitable, that he was guided by the hidden hand of historical determinism. The passage of history does not decide individual destinies: rather, it opens some paths and closes others. For Lukacs, the choice of supporting capitalism was severely curtailed: he could not condone the aimless carnage which made a mockery of capitalism's ideology of freedom and democracy. Neither could he swallow the historical determinism of Social Democracy, for to accept it would be to deny any historical role for himself as an intellectual. That much follows from the social and historical situation of an intellectual of his era.¹⁴³

The dashing of faith in a social order does not create a revolutionary, however. Lukacs could, quite logically, have taken paths which would have led him in altogether different directions. In fact, Lukacs's early pessimism in works such as Soul and Form would suggest that cynicism and despair were more likely responses to world war than a sudden conversion to Communism. Alternatively, he could have followed many of his friends into the study of psychoanalysis, in order to find a psychological explanation for war and upheaval.

Lukacs became a revolutionary because, as an individual, he grasped the opportunity presented by historical events. As early as 1914 he had come to the conclusion that capitalism was embarked upon a course of futile blood-letting, but no alternative to capitalism existed. The concretization of the Socialist Left at the Zimmerwald Conference of 1915 created a realistic international alternative to capitalism, eventually leading to revolution in Russia and Central Europe. Realizing that many of his own analyses coincided with those of the new Communist movement, Lukacs joined the Hungarian Communist Party.

The fruits of Lukacs's conversion to Communism are described in some depth in this thesis. He was able to make a significant contribution to Hungarian culture through widespread reforms which were never matched in scope and vision by the more powerful Bolshevik government. The majority of his reforms were quite consistent with his mature pre-Marxist writings, and suggest a significant melding together of his own cultural theories with the wider Marxist doctrine.

Lukacs deserves a major place in a history of the Hungarian Revolution of 1919. There can be no doubt that many of his contributions could not have been matched by any other Communist or Socialist leader. Nevertheless the revolution itself would have been impossible without the organizational cohesiveness and sheer physical strength of the proletariat. The individual leader and the mass movement both play an essential role in any revolution. They are mutually interdependent, and each cannot be considered alone. Without one, the other is impotent.

Crude Marxists such as Engels and Kautsky downplayed the role of the autonomous individual in history. The history of Communist revolutions alone proves them wrong. The Bolshevik revolution in Russia would not have been possible without the imaginative leadership of Lenin, an intellectual who had spent the previous two years pouring over manuscripts in a Swiss library. Similarly, the Hungarian Republic of Councils would have been immeasurably weakened without the input and leadership of Lukacs and his intellectual colleagues. Revolution is possible when intellectuals choose or are forced to intervene in political events, at the same time that the proletariat makes the leap of consciousness necessary to become aware of its historic mission as a class: the overthrow of capitalism and the building of Communism.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹The revolutions of 1919 and 1956.
- ²Nevertheless, I feel that this thesis illuminates some of the factors which were significant in leading many intellectuals other than Lukacs to Communism during this period.
- ³The Max Weber circle centered around Weber, perhaps the most renowned sociologist in history. A description of the debates and membership of the Weber circle can be found in any competent biography of Weber, or in Lee Congdon, The Young Lukacs (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).
- ⁴A. Arato and P. Breines, The Young Lukacs and the Origins of Western Marxism (New York: Seabury Press, 1979), p. 51.
- ⁵Ibid., p. 52.
- ⁶George Lukacs, Soul and Form (London: Merlin, 1971).
- ⁷George Lukacs, Theory of the Novel (London: Merlin, 1971).
- ⁸Most of the outspoken leaders of the left were purged, notably Anton Pannekoek, Herman Gorter, and Karl Korsch.
- ⁹George Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness (London: Merlin, 1969).
- ¹⁰George Lichtheim, Lukacs (London: Fontana, 1970).
- ¹¹George Lukacs, Lenin (London: New Left Books, 1970).
- ¹²See, for example, George Lukacs, The Historical Novel (London: Merlin, 1970).
- ¹³Telos is produced by academics, primarily from the State University of New York in Buffalo, N.Y. It commenced publication in 1968 and has become one of the more respected Marxist philosophic journals.
- ¹⁴George Lichtheim, Lukacs (London: Fontana, 1970).
- ¹⁵A. Arato and P. Breines, The Young Lukacs and the Origins of Western Marxism (New York: Seabury Press, 1979).

¹⁶Michael Lowy, George Lukacs: From Romanticism to Bolshevism (London: New Left Books, 1979).

¹⁷Victor Zitta, George Lukacs. Marxism, Alienation, Dialectics, Revolution: A Study in Utopia and Ideology (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1964).

¹⁸As an example, Zitta entitles his chapter on the 1919 Revolution "Terror Stricken Yogi as Commissar."

¹⁹David Kettler, "Culture and Revolution," Telos 10 (1970): 10-85.

²⁰George Lukacs, "Gelebtes Denken," New Hungarian Quarterly 6 (Summer 1985): 27 - 32.

²¹The Revolution is controversial in Hungary because many of its most famous leaders, notably Bela Kun, later fell from favour and were executed in exile in the Soviet Union. Only since the death of Stalin has the revolution been rehabilitated.

²²R. Tokes, Bela Kun and the Hungarian Soviet Republic (New York: Praeger, 1967).

²³Tibor Hajdu, The Hungarian Soviet Republic (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1979).

²⁴Marxist Humanism can be divided into three tendencies which have developed independently: a group of Hungarian and East European dissident philosophers including Agnes Heller, Ivan Svitak, and others: a significant group of ex-Trotskyists in the U.S. led by C. L. R. James and Raya Dunayevskaya: and some former adherents of the Frankfurt School, such as Herbert Marcuse and Erich Fromm. Obviously, the authors mentioned above have written a daunting array of books and pamphlets defending their positions. Perhaps the first comprehensive explanation of Marxist Humanism can be found in Raya Dunayevskaya, Marxism and Freedom (New York: Bookman, 1958).

²⁵The most striking examples of "vulgar Marxism" can be found in the official philosophy of the Soviet Union and other East Bloc countries.

²⁶Rudolph Kassner, Soren Kierkegaard, Leo Popper, Regine Olsen, Novalis, Theodor Storm, Paul Ernst, Stephen George, Charles-Louis Philippe, and Lawrence Stern.

²⁷Lukacs, Soul and Form, p. 9.

²⁸Ibid., p. 44.

²⁹Ibid., p. 42.

³⁰Ibid., p. 50.

³¹Ibid., p. 43.

³²Ibid., pp. 158 - 159.

³³Ibid., p. 173. It is interesting to compare this quotation from Lukacs with one from Nietzsche, later considered by Lukacs to be a founder of fascism: "to us, the democratic movement is not only a form of the decay of political organization but a form of the decay, namely the diminution, of man." F. Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil (New York: Vintage Press, 1966), p. 117.

³⁴Lukacs, Soul and Form, p. 165.

³⁵Ibid., p. 56.

³⁶Ibid., p. 59.

³⁹Herbert Marcuse, One Dimensional Man (Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 1.

³⁸This reading of Lukacs assumes that "bourgeois culture" is the creation of a bourgeois economic class, an apparently self-evident proposition. Thus, in criticizing bourgeois culture as bankrupt and requiring replacement, Lukacs is also implicitly attacking the foundation of bourgeois life, a capitalist economic system (or at least, a capitalist system in development). Certainly this was Lukacs's own interpretation of the meaning of this attacks upon bourgeois culture. See, for example, Lukacs, "Gelebtes Denken," New Hungarian Quarterly, 89 (Spring 1983), pp. 66 - 95. Nevertheless, some writers, such as Adorno and Horkheimer, The Theory of Enlightenment, (New York: Seabury Press, 1973) hold that bourgeois culture can be traced back to ancient Greek society. My argument for the coextensiveness of bourgeois culture and capitalist economic forms would not make sense if the reader were to adhere to such a broad definition of bourgeois culture.

³⁹See, for example, G. H. R. Parkinson, George Lukacs, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977) pp. 24 - 33, and Lee Congdon, The Young Lukacs (London, U. of N. Carolina, 1983).

⁴⁰George Lukacs, Theory of the Novel, p. 30.

⁴¹Bela Balazs, "Notes from a diary," New Hungarian Quarterly, 47 (1972), p. 173. "Gyuri" is a Hungarian nickname for "Gyorgy." For the sake of simplicity I use the English "George" throughout this thesis.

⁴²For the sake of simplicity, this argument assumes that when Lukacs is speaking of bourgeois culture, he defines it as being that from of culture which is created by the bourgeois class, as defined in socio-economic terms. Inasmuch as this is correct, bourgeois culture can only exist within societies which have at least begun capitalist development. Some Frankfurt School writers, such as Adorno, have a broader definition of bourgeois culture as originating in Greek society. Their views are not, in my opinion, consistent with those of Lukacs as expressed in later writing. See, for example, George Lukacs, Record of a Life (London: Verso, 1983), pp. 44 - 56, 150 - 160.

⁴³Lukacs, Theory of the Novel, p. 93.

⁴⁴Don Quixote, a novel by the Spanish author Cervantes, was first published in 1605. It traces the life of a Spanish country gentleman. His mind is so full of the ideas of chivalry that he believes that he must become a knight and redress the wrongs of humanity. He sallies forth into the world, and blindly attacks targets he believes need to be freed. Inevitably, his forays end in disaster, and he is eventually ridiculed by all but his closest allies. He returns home a broken man and renounces his futile mission.

⁴⁵Lukacs, Theory of the Novel, p. 97.

⁴⁶Goncharov's Oblomov was published in 1859. It is a classic of Russian realist fiction of the 19th century. Its story depicts Oblomov as a Russian landowner who is the embodiment of laziness. His gown and slippers become part of his character. His friend Shtoltz, who is opposite to him in character, attempts to encourage him to become active, even introducing him to a beautiful woman. Oblomov refuses to entertain the idea of pulling himself out of his self-inflicted sloth. He loses his sweetheart to Shtoltz and eventually dies, a bankrupt dreamer. The novel is considered a forerunner of later psychological novels.

⁴⁷Lukacs, Theory of the Novel, p. 113.

⁴⁸Wilhelm Meister is the central character in two of Goethe's most famous novels, Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship (1796) and Wilhelm Meister's Travels (1829). The first and more renowned novel describes Wilhelm's progress from youth to adulthood. He wishes to become a great writer and playwright, but under the guidance of a mysterious 'Tower Society' he gradually comes to a more modest and objective view of himself, and is eventually accepted to membership of the society.

⁴⁹Lukacs, Theory of the Novel, p. 132.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁵²A. Arato and P. Breines, The Young Lukacs. Cited above.

⁵³Lukacs, Theory of the Novel, p. 153.

⁵⁴George Lichtheim, Marxism (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), pp. 259 - 277.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 260.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 259 - 265.

⁵⁷Letter from Engels to Kautsky, quoted in Lichtheim, Marxism, p. 262fn.

⁵⁸E. Bernstein, in E. Bernstein and R. Luxemburg, Reform or Revolution (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973), p. 64.

⁵⁹Clause Four of the Labour Party constitution reads: "To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their labour and the most equitable distribution thereof which may be possible based upon the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange." This is the only clause printed on each membership card.

⁶⁰For an analysis of Hungary's socio-economic status during the 1910's, see Ivan T. Berend, The Hungarian Economy in the Twentieth Century (London: Croom Helm, 1985).

⁶¹This situation was, of course, most pronounced in Russia, where disagreement over the theory of stages of economic development formed one of the main divisions between the Bolshevik and Menshevik tendencies of Social Democracy. Lenin's Development of Capitalism in Russia (1899) created the basis for the theory of permanent revolution (later developed by Trotsky) whereby it is argued that the proletariat in underdeveloped countries could seize power and push through the capitalist stage of development itself. Both the Russian and Hungarian revolutions were possible on that basis.

⁶²Quoted in Michael Lowy, George Lukacs: From Romanticism to Bolshevism (London: New Left Books, 1979), p. 124.

⁶³Quoted by Lowy, p. 47.

⁶⁴G. D. H. Cole, The Second International (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1956), p. 570.

⁶⁵Rudolf Tokes, Bela Kun and the Hungarian Revolution (New York: Praeger, 1967), p. 25.

⁶⁶The fact that Anti-Duhring was published some five years before Marx's death (and elicited no hostile response from Marx) suggests that Marx himself did not have major objections to the idea of extending his dialectic to natural law, which Engels's book heralded. Recently, however, Marx's notes on anthropology (1882) have become available to scholars through multi-lingual transliteration, and they appear to show major differences with Engels on several questions. See Raya Dunayevskaya, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy on Revolution (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1981).

⁶⁷Karl Marx, Paris Manuscripts. Quoted by Raya Dunayevskaya, Marxism and Freedom (New York: Bookman, 1958), p. 171.

⁶⁸The argument that Engels (and Kautsky) misinterpreted Marxism in a crudely dogmatic fashion is by no means commonly accepted. Some of Marx's later writings give credence to some of Engels's theses, although much recent scholarly Marxism has uncovered significant theoretical differences between Marx's writings and those of the later Engels. Terrance Carter's Marx and Engels (Brighton, England: Harvester Press, 1983) and Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom are good examples of such scholarly work.

It appears certain, however, that Lukacs (during his Marxist period) believed Marxism had been perverted after Marx's death by the leaders of the Second International, removing its revolutionary philosophical basis. See for example Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness (London: Merlin, 1969). This collection of Lukacs's most famous essays of the early 1920's is largely devoted to rediscovery of the philosophic essence of Marx. It contains very thinly veiled criticism of Engels through its criticism of the Second International. Lukacs's position is confirmed in Lukacs, Record of a Life (London: Verso, 1983), p. 162. Though all of the essays in History and Class Consciousness touch upon the issue, I would particularly recommend "What is Orthodox Marxism" (pp. 1 - 24) and "The Marxism of Rosa Luxemburg" (pp. 27 - 45), as well as "Class Consciousness" (pp. 46 - 81).

⁶⁹F. Engels, "Speech at the graveside of Karl Marx," Marx Engels Selected Works, 3 vols. (Moscow: Progress, 1977), 3: 162.

⁷⁰Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy in Marx Engels Selected Works, 3: 504.

⁷¹Engels, Anti-Duhring, (Moscow: Progress, 1954). Part One.

⁷²Engels, Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy, Marx Engels Selected Works, 3: 366.

⁷³George Lichtheim, Marxism, pp. 234 - 277.

⁷⁴Lukacs, "A konservatív és a progressív idealizmus vitája," Utam Marxhoz, (Budapest: Gondolat, 1971) pp. 179 - 180.

⁷⁵Lukacs, Magyar Irodalom, Magyar Kultúra (Budapest: Gondolat, 1970) pp. 8 - 9.

⁷⁶Lowy, Lukacs, p. 123.

⁷⁷Paul Ernst, a friend of Lukacs, quoted in Lowy, *ibid.*, p. 123.

⁷⁸Lukacs, Lenin (London: New Left Books, 1970), pp. 10 - 11.

⁷⁹Lenin, Selected Works, 12 vols. (New York: International Publishers, 1934), 8: 320.

⁸⁰Lukacs, "Party and Class," Political Writings 1919 - 1929 (London: New Left Books, 1972), p. 33.

⁸¹M. Liebman, Leninism under Lenin (London: Merlin, 1980), p. 114 - 115.

⁸²Lenin, Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism, Selected Works, 1 vol. (Moscow: Progress, 1968), p. 246.

⁸³Lenin, Selected Works, 12 vols. (New York: International Publishers, 1934), 5: 303.

⁸⁴Lenin, On the International Working Class and Communist Movement (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.), p. 303.

⁸⁵Lenin, Philosophic Notebooks, translated and quoted by Raya Dunayevskaya, Marxism and Freedom, p. 171.

⁸⁶Lenin, quoted in Dunayevskaya, Marxism and Freedom, p. 177.

⁸⁷Although information for this section was derived from a number of sources, an excellent historical analysis of the period can be found in E. H. Carr, International Relations Between the Two World Wars (New York: Harper and Row, 1947).

⁸⁸See especially Hajdu, The Hungarian Soviet Republic, pp. 7 - 11.

⁸⁹Lenin, closing address to the VIIIth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, quoted in Hajdu, Hungarian Soviet Republic, p. 242.

⁹⁰Trianon dealt with the eastern part of Europe, and formed part of the Versailles agreement for peace.

⁹¹R. Tokes, Bela Kun and the Hungarian Soviet Republic, pp. 200 - 201.

⁹²Since Hungary refused to abide by the terms for peace, all Allied powers remained at war with it, although the brunt of the attack was carried by Romania, with considerable French support.

⁹³Whereas the Romanian Army was a victorious standing army, the Hungarian fighters were merely a remnant of a larger defeated force, ill-equipped, and in many cases led by officers opposed to the left-wing regime. See Hajdu, Hungarian Soviet Republic, pp. 92 - 105.

⁹⁴Tokes, Bela Kun, pp. 149 - 150.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁹⁶Hajdu, Hungarian Soviet Republic, pp. 73 - 75.

⁹⁷David Kettler, "Culture and Revolution," Telos 10 (1970), p. 78.

⁹⁸Hajdu, Hungarian Soviet Republic, p. 74. Hajdu does not report why the councils were abandoned.

⁹⁹Kettler, "Culture and Revolution," pp. 78 - 80. Also Hajdu, Hungarian Soviet Republic, pp. 74 - 75.

¹⁰⁰This quotation is from a collaborator of Lukacs during the Republic, Eugene Szatman, Red Hungary (Leipzig: n.p., 1920), p. 78. Further evidence comes from Lukacs himself, in his job description for these 'red professors': ". . . experts who by virtue of their knowledge and their point of view [have] the calling to take part as leaders in the new cultural work." *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁰¹Wilhelm Boehm, quoted in Kettler, Bela Kun, p. 77.

¹⁰²Lowy, Lukacs.

¹⁰³Tokes, Bela Kun, pp. 152 - 154, p. 179. Tokes ridicules Lukacs for his support of prohibition of alcohol. This suggests an ignorance of both the merits of such a policy and the fact that temperance was an important plank of the platforms of most western Communist Parties: in Britain it was one of the ten principles upon which agreement to form the party was reached.

¹⁰⁴See, for example, John Westegaard, "Sociology: the myth of classlessness," in Robin Blackburn, ed., Ideology in Social Science (London: Fontana, 1972), pp. 119 - 163.

¹⁰⁵The best known example of a major attempt to create a truly egalitarian society through educational reform was during Mao's Cultural Revolution in China. See Nigel Harris, The Mandate of Heaven (London: Quartet, 1980).

- ¹⁰⁶Kettler, "Culture and Revolution," p. 69.
- ¹⁰⁷Gyula Krudy, in the Hungarian newspaper, Magyarország, April 9th, 1919. Quoted by Hajdu, Hungarian Soviet Republic, pp. 76 - 77.
- ¹⁰⁸Kettler, "Culture and Revolution," p. 71.
- ¹⁰⁹Hungarian Revolutionary Posters of 1919 (Budapest: National Museum, 1979).
- ¹¹⁰Quoted in Kettler, "Culture and Revolution," p. 71.
- ¹¹¹Tokes, Bela Kun, p. 179.
- ¹¹²Translated from the official government newspaper, Pester Lloyd, April 17th, 1919. Quoted by Kettler, "Culture and Revolution," p. 84.
- ¹¹³Hajdu, Hungarian Soviet Government, pp. 75 - 76.
- ¹¹⁴Jean-Loup Passak, ed., Le Cinema Hongrois (Paris: Centre nationale d'art et de culture Georges Pompidou, 1979), p. 5. This book is the primary western language source for the history of Hungarian cinema.
- ¹¹⁵Alexander Korda's actual Hungarian name (by which he was known at the time of the revolution) is Sandor. For the sake of familiarity, I have used film stars' most famous names when describing them. This is especially valid as the form of Hungarian names differs from that used in most western countries, and many of the artists described in this section changed their stage names a number of times during their journey to Hollywood fame.
- ¹¹⁶The other director approaching Korda's stature was Kertesz, another supporter of the revolution. Jean-Loup Passak, ed., Le Cinema Hongrois, pp. 5 - 10.
- ¹¹⁷Istvan Nemeskurty, "Le Cinema Hongrois Avant 1945," in Jean-Loup Passak, ed., Le Cinema Hongrois, p. 18.
- ¹¹⁸From Mozihet, December 1918. Quoted by Nemeskurty, "Cinema Hongrois Avant 1945," p. 19.
- ¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 19.
- ¹²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 20.
- ¹²¹*Ibid.*

¹²²See, for example, Luda and Jean Schnitzer, ed., Cinema in Revolution (London: Secker and Warburg, 1973). Eisenstein's best known films were all produced a number of years after the Russian Revolution: Battleship Potemkin (1925), October (1927), and The General Line (1929). He did not attempt to film literature until the early 1930's, by which time he was already falling into disfavour.

¹²³George Lukacs, "The Poetry of Film," New Hungarian Quarterly, 15 (Summer 1974), pp. 22 - 24.

¹²⁴Lukacs, "The Old Culture and the New Culture," Telos 11 (1971), pp. 21 - 31.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 21.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹²⁷Karl Marx, Capital (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959), 1: 85.

¹²⁸Karl Marx, quoted in Mikhail Lifshitz, The Philosophy of Art of Karl Marx (London: Pluto Press, 1973), p. 100. The quotation is from an unpublished essay, "Wages."

¹²⁹Lukacs, "Old and New Culture," p. 23.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*

¹³¹*Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹³²*Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹³³*Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 28.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*

¹³⁷Bela Kun and other leaders of the Hungarian revolution had studied in Moscow, and presented themselves as the authentic hard-line adherents to early Bolshevism during intra-party factional disputes in the 1920's. Hard-line revolutionism went out of favour during the Popular Front period of the mid-1930's, and Kun and many of his allies were executed. For an example of "hard-line Bolshevism" and its organizing theory, see Lenin, What Is to Be Done (Peking: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1973).

¹³⁸Discussed earlier in this chapter.

¹³⁹Discussed earlier, p. 62.

¹⁴⁰This is based upon Lukacs's later habit of defending and promoting all of Stalin's cultural policies, however ridiculous they appear in retrospect. We can safely assume that fear of possible consequences stopped Lukacs from speaking out, rather than concurrence with the policies.

¹⁴¹Lukacs did spearhead a major restructuring of cultural organizations. This was not justified in philosophic terms however, and seems to have taken place on an ad hoc basis.

¹⁴²Karl Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (Progress: Moscow, 1975) p. 5.

¹⁴³Assuming that the 'intellectual' is operating with honest motives. Even the most brutal and decadent social systems sponsor those who attempt to justify their existence: the more brutal and decadent the society, the less valid are the claims of these people to be intellectuals. South Africa and its public relation campaign in favour of apartheid is a good modern example.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ARATO, ANDREW. "Lukacs' Path to Marxism (1910-1923)." Telos 7 (Spring 1971): 128-136.
- ARATO, ANDREW, AND BREINES, PAUL. The Young Lukacs and the Origins of Western Marxism. New York: Seabury Press, 1979.
- BALAZS, BELA. "Notes from a Diary." New Hungarian Quarterly 47 (1973): 160-185.
- BIRCHALL, IAN. "Lukacs as Literary Critic." International Socialism 36 (April 1969): 36-38.
- BLACKBURN, ROBIN, ED. Ideology in Social Science. London: Fontana, 1972.
- BRECHT, BERTHOLT. "Against George Lukacs." New Left Review 84 (March 1974): 39-53.
- BUKHARIN, NIKOLAI. The ABC of Communism. Rexdale, Canada: Wiley Press, 1966.
- CARR, E.H. International Relations Between the Two World Wars. New York: Harper and Row, 1947.
- CARR, E.H. What is History? Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1964.
- CLIFF, TONY. Lenin. 4 vols. London: Pluto Press, 1976-80.
- COLE, G.D.H. The Second International. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1956.
- CONGDON, LEE. The Young Lukacs. London: University of North Carolina Press, 1983.
- DEMETZ, PETER. Marx, Engels, and the Poets. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
- DUNAYEVSKAYA, RAYA. Marxism and Freedom. Introductions by Harry McShane and Herbert Marcuse. New York: Bookman, 1958.
- DUNAYEVSKAYA, RAYA. Philosophy and Revolution. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1973.

DUNAYEVSKAYA, RAYA. Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1981.

DUNAYEVSKAYA, RAYA. "Lukacs's Philosophic Dimension." News and Letters, March 1973, pp. 5-6.

DUNAYEVSKAYA, RAYA. "What is Orthodox Marxism?" News and Letters, February 1973, pp. 5-7.

ENGELS, FREDERICK. Anti-Duhring. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1954.

EORSI, ISTVAN. "Gyorgy Lukacs: Fanatic of Reality." New Hungarian Quarterly 12 (Winter, 1971): pp. 26-34.

FEENBERG, ANDREW. "Aesthetics as Social Theology: Introduction to Feher's 'Is the Novel Problematic?'" Telos 15 (Spring 1973): 41-46.

FETSCHER, IRVING. Marx and Marxism. New York: Herder and Herder, 1971.

GOLDMANN, LUCIEN. The Hidden God. Translated by P. Thody. New York: Humanities Press, 1964.

GOLDMANN, LUCIEN. The Human Sciences and Philosophy. London: Jonathan Cape, 1969.

GOLDMANN, LUCIEN. "The Early Writings of Georg Lukacs." Triquarterly 9 (Spring 1967): 165-181.

GOLDMANN, LUCIEN. "Introduction to the Problems of Sociology of the Novel." Telos 18 (Winter 1973-74): 122-135.

HAJDU, TIBOR. The Hungarian Soviet Republic. Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1979.

HARRIS, NIGEL. Beliefs in Society. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Press, 1969.

HARRIS, NIGEL. The Mandate of Heaven: Marx and Mao in Modern China. London: Quartet, 1980.

HAUSER, ARNOLD. The Social History of Art. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.

HELLER, AGNES. "Lukacs's Aesthetics." New Hungarian Quarterly 7 (Winter 1966): 84-94.

HOWARD, DICK. The Marxian Legacy. New York: Vintage Press: 1977.

- HOWE, IRVING. "Lukacs and Solzhenitsyn." Dissent 18 (December 1971): 643-647.
- JAY, MARTIN. The Dialectical Imagination. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1973.
- KETTLER, DAVID. "Culture and Revolution." Telos 10 (1970): 10-85.
- KUN, BELA. Selected Works. Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1966.
- LASZLO, ERVIN. "Works of George Lukacs in Non-Hungarian Languages." Studies in Soviet Thought 6 (June 1966): 57-171, (September 1966): 228-238.
- LENIN, VLADIMIR. Collected Works. 45 vols. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965-1972.
- LENIN, VLADIMIR. On the International Working Class and Communist Movement. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.
- LENIN, VLADIMIR. Selected Works. 1 vol. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968.
- LENIN, VLADIMIR. Selected Works. 13 vols. New York: International Publishers, 1934.
- LICHTHEIM, GEORGE. Lukacs. London: Fontana, 1972.
- LICHTHEIM, GEORGE. Marxism. An Historical and Critical Study. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961.
- LIEBMAN, M. Leninism Under Lenin. London: Merlin, 1980.
- LIFSHITZ, MIKHAIL. The Philosophy of Art of Karl Marx. Translated by Ralph B. Winn. London: Pluto Press, 1973.
- LITVAN, GYORGY. "Oszkar Jaszi, Hungarian Patriot in America." New Hungarian Quarterly 92 (Winter 1983): 115-127.
- LOWY, MICHAEL. George Lukacs: From Romanticism to Bolshevism. London: New Left Books, 1979.
- LOWY, MICHAEL. Marxisme et Romanticisme Revolutionnaire. Paris: Le Sycomore, 1979.
- LUKACS, GEORGE (GYORGY). "Bela Bartok." New Hungarian Quarterly 5 (Summer 1964): 57-72.

- LUKACS, GEORGE. "Class Consciousness." Bottomore, Tom, ed. Karl Marx. Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1973: 92-101.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. Conversations with Lukacs. Theo Pinkus, ed. London: Marlin Press, 1974.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. "The Dialectic of Labour: Beyond Causality and Teleology." Telos 6 (Fall 1970): 162-174.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. Essays on Thomas Mann. Translated by Stanley Mitchell. New York: Brosset and Dunlap, 1964.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. Goethe and His Age. Translated by R. Anchor. London: Merlin, 1968.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. The Historical Novel. Translated by Hannah and Stanley Livingston. London: Merlin, 1969.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. History and Class Consciousness. Translated by Rodney Livingston. London: Merlin, 1969.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. "Introduction to a Monograph on Aesthetics." New Hungarian Quarterly 5 (Summer 1964): 57-72.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. Lenin: A Study in the Unity of his Thought. Translated by Rodney Livingston. London: Merlin, 1969.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. "Lenin: Theoretician of Practice." New Hungarian Quarterly 11 (Winter 1970): 30-36.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. "Letters to Paul Ernst, 1911-1926." New Hungarian Quarterly 13 (Autumn 1972): 88-99.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. Marxism and Human Liberation. Edited by E. San Juan Jr. New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1973.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. "Max Weber and German Sociology." Economy and Society 1 (November 1972): 386-398.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. "Moses Hess and the Problems of Idealist Dialectics." Telos X (Winter 1971): 3-34.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. "The Old Culture and the New Culture." Telos 5 (Spring 1970): 21-30.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. "Poetry of the Film." New Hungarian Quarterly 15 (Summer 1974): 27-32.

- LUKACS, GEORGE. Political Writings (1919-1929). Translated by Michael McGlogan, edited by Rodney Livingston. London: New Left Books, 1972.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. "The Question of Romanticism." New Hungarian Quarterly 89 (Spring 1983): 66-95.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. Soul and Form. Translated by Anna Bostock. London: Merlin, 1971.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. The Theory of the Novel. Translated by Anna Bostock. London: Merlin, 1971.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. The Writer and Critic and Other Essays. London: Merlin, 1970.
- LUKACS, GEORGE. The Young Hegel. London: Merlin, 1977.
- LUXEMBURG, ROSA, AND BERNSTEIN, EDUARD. Reform or Revolution. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973.
- MANNHEIM, KARL. Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1936.
- MANNHEIM, KARL. "Letters to Lukacs: 1910-1916." New Hungarian Quarterly 16 (Spring 1975): 93-105.
- MARCUSE, HERBERT. One Dimensional Man. Boston: Beacon Press, 1964.
- MARX, KARL. Capital. 3 vols. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1954.
- MARX, KARL. Early Writings. Introduction by Lucio Coletti. Translated by Rodney Livingston and Gregory Benton. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1975.
- MARX, KARL. Grundrisse. Translated with a Foreword by Martin Nicolaus. Harmondsworth, England: Pelican Books, 1973.
- MARX, KARL. The First International and After. Harmondsworth, England: Pelican Books, 1975.
- MARX, KARL, AND ENGELS, FREDERICK. Selected Works. 3 vols. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969.
- MCINNES, NEIL. "George Lukacs." Encyclopedia of Philosophy 5 (1967): 102-104.
- MCINNES, NEIL. "Lukacs: The Restoration of Idealism." The Western Marxists. London: Alcove Press, 1972: 105-129.

- MESZAROS, ISTVAN. Aspects of History and Class Consciousness. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.
- MESZAROS, ISTVAN. Lukacs's Concept of Dialectic. New York: Humanities Press, 1972.
- NIETZSCHE, FREDERICK. Beyond Good and Evil. Translated with an Introduction by Walter Kaufmann. New York: Vintage Books, 1966.
- NEMESKURTY, ISTVAN. "Le Cinema Hongrois Avant 1945." Jean-Loup Passak, ed. Le Cinema Hongrois. Paris: Centre Nationale d'art et de culture Georges Pompidou, 1979.
- NOVACK, GEORGE. "George Lukacs as Marxist Philosopher." International Socialist Review 33 (January 1972): 9-10, 29-33.
- PARKINSON, G. H. R. George Lukacs. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.
- PASSAK, JEAN-LOUP. Le Cinema Hongrois. Paris: Centre Nationale d'art et de culture Georges Pompidou, 1979.
- PICCONE, PAUL. "Lukacs's History and Class Consciousness Half a Century Later." Telos 4 (Fall 1969): 95-112.
- PICCONE, PAUL. "The Problem of Consciousness." Telos 5 (Spring 1970): 178-187.
- REVAI, JOZSEF. "A Review of George Lukacs' History and Class Consciousness." Theoretical Practice 1 (January 1971): 28-29.
- ROSDOLSKY, ROMAN. The Making of Marx's Capital. Translated by Pete Burgess. London: Pluto Press, 1980.
- RUHLE, JURGEN. Literature and Revolution: A Critical Study of the Writer and Communism in the Twentieth Century. New York: Praeger, 1969.
- SCHNITZER, LUDA AND JEAN. Cinema in Revolution. London: Secker and Warburg, 1973.
- STEDMAN-JONES, GARETH. "The Marxism of the Early Lukacs: An Evaluation." New Left Review 70 (November-December 1970): 27-64.
- SZATMAN, EUGENE. Red Hungary. Leipzig: Communist International, 1920?

TOKES, RUDOLPH. Bela Kun and the Hungarian Soviet Republic. New York: Hoover Institute, 1967.

UNGVARI, TAMAS. "The Lost Childhood: The Genesis of Georg Lukacs' Ideas of Literature." Cambridge Review 43 (January 1972): 96-100.

ZITTA, VICTOR. George Lukacs' Marxism. Alienation, Dialectics, Revolution: A Study in Utopia and Ideology. Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1964.